

A

# JOURNAL

OF THE

LIFE, GOSPEL LABOURS, AND CHRISTIAN  
EXPERIENCES,

OF THAT

FAITHFUL MINISTER OF JESUS CHRIST,

## JOHN WOOLMAN,

LATE OF

*MOUNT HOLLY, IN THE PROVINCE OF NEW JERSEY.*

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The work of righteousness shall be peace, and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance for ever.—ISAIAH xxxii. 17.

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**PHILADELPHIA:**

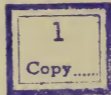
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TO THE READER.

Divers errors and inaccuracies having occurred in former editions of the Journal and Works of John Woolman, care has been taken in this to have them corrected. The whole of the Journal and most of the essays have been carefully collated with the original manuscripts, the omissions supplied, and the mistakes rectified. In a very few cases, some verbal changes of words and phrases have been made, and the paragraphs differently divided, without altering the meaning—but the principal object has been to publish a correct copy of the valuable writings and views of this deeply exercised, enlightened, and devoted servant of God.

## THE TESTIMONY

*Of Friends in Yorkshire, at their Quarterly Meeting held at York, the 24th and 25th of the 3rd month, 1773, concerning*

JOHN WOOLMAN,

Of Mount Holly, in the province of New Jersey, in America; who departed this life at the house of our friend Thomas Priestman, in the suburbs of this city, on the 7th of the 10th month, 1772, and was interred in the burying ground of Friends the 9th of the same, aged about fifty-two years.

This our valuable friend having been under a religious engagement for some time, to visit Friends in this nation, and more especially us in the northern parts, undertook the same in full concurrence and near sympathy with his friends and brethren at home; as appeared by certificates from the monthly and Quarterly meetings to which he belonged, and from the spring meeting of ministers and elders, held at Philadelphia, for Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

He arrived in the city of London at the beginning of the last Yearly Meeting; and after attending that meeting travelled northward, visiting the Quarterly meetings of Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire and Worcestershire, and divers particular meetings in his way.

He visited many meetings on the west side of this county, also some in Lancashire and Westmoreland; from whence he came to our Quarterly meeting in the last 9th month, and though much out of health, yet was enabled to attend all the sittings of that meeting, except the last.

His disorder then, which proved to be the small-pox, increased speedily upon him, and was very afflictive; under which he was supported in much meekness, patience, and christian fortitude. To those who attended him in his illness, his mind appeared to be

centred in Divine love; under the precious influence whereof, we believe he finished his course, and entered into the mansions of everlasting rest.

In the early part of his illness he requested a friend to write, and he broke forth thus:

“O Lord my God! the amazing horrors of darkness were gathered around me, and covered me all over, and I saw no way to go forth. I felt the misery of my fellow-creatures, separated from the Divine harmony, and it was heavier than I could bear, and I was crushed down under it: I lifted up my hand, and stretched out my arm; but there was none to help me: I looked round about and was amazed. In the depths of misery, O Lord! I remembered that thou art omnipotent,—that I had called thee father;—and I felt that I loved thee; and I was made quiet in thy will; and I waited for deliverance from thee; thou hadst pity upon me, when no man could help me. I saw that meekness under suffering was showed to us in the most affecting example of thy son, and thou wast teaching me to follow him; and I said, thy will, O Father, be done.”

Many more of his weighty expressions might have been inserted here, but it was deemed unnecessary, they being already published in print.

He was a man endued with a large natural capacity; and being obedient to the manifestations of Divine grace, having in patience and humility endured many deep baptisms, he became thereby sanctified and fitted for the Lord's work, and was truly serviceable in his church. Dwelling in awful fear and watchfulness, he was careful in his public appearances to feel the putting forth of the Divine hand; so that the spring of the gospel ministry often flowed through him with great sweetness and purity, as a refreshing stream to the weary travellers towards the city of God. Skilful in dividing the word, he was furnished by Him in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, to communicate freely to the several states of the people where his lot was cast. His conduct at

other times was seasoned with the like watchful circumspection and attention to the guidance of Divine wisdom; which rendered his whole conversation uniformly edifying.

He was fully persuaded, that as the life of Christ comes to reign in the earth, all abuse and unnecessary oppression, both of the human and brute creation, will come to an end: but under the sense of a deep revolt, and an overflowing stream of unrighteousness, his life has been often a life of mourning.

He was deeply concerned on account of that inhuman and iniquitous practice of making slaves of the people of Africa, or holding them in that state; and on that account we understand he hath not only wrote some books, but travelled much on the continent of America, in order to make the negro-masters (especially those in profession with us) sensible of the evil of such a practice. And though in this journey to England, he was far removed from the outward sight of their sufferings, yet his deep exercise of mind remained; as appears by a short treatise he wrote in this journey, and his frequent concern to open the miserable state of this deeply injured people. His testimony, in the last meeting he attended, was on this subject; wherein he remarked, that as we, as a society, when under outward sufferings, had often found it our concern to lay them before those in authority, and thereby in the Lord's time, had obtained relief; so he recommended this oppressed part of the creation to our notice, that we may, as way may open, represent their sufferings in an individual, if not in a society capacity to those in authority.

Deeply sensible that the desire to gratify people's inclinations in luxury and superfluities, is the principal ground of oppression, and the occasion of many unnecessary wants, he believed it to be his duty to be a pattern of great self-denial, with respect to the things of this life; and earnestly to labour with Friends in the meekness of wisdom, to impress on their minds the great importance of our testimony in these things;

recommending to the guidance of the blessed Truth in this and all other concerns, and cautioning such as are experienced therein, against contenting themselves with acting up to the standard of others, but to be careful to make the standard of Truth manifested to them, the measure of their obedience: "For," said he, "that purity of life which proceeds from faithfulness in following the spirit of Truth, that state where our minds are devoted to serve God, and all our wants are bounded by his wisdom; this habitation has often been opened before me as a place of retirement for the children of the light, where they may stand separated from that which disordereth and confuseth the affairs of society, and where we may have a testimony of our innocence in the hearts of those who behold us."

We conclude, with fervent desires, that we as a people may thus, by our example, promote the Lord's work in the earth; and our hearts being prepared, may unite in prayer to the great Lord of the harvest, that as in his infinite wisdom he hath greatly stripped the church, by removing of late divers faithful ministers and elders, he may be pleased to send forth many more faithful labourers into his harvest.

Signed in, by order, and on behalf of said meeting.

THOMAS BENNETT,	SAMUEL BRISCOE,
JOHN STORR,	JOHN TURNER,
JOSEPH EGLIN,	JOSHUA ROBINSON,
THOMAS PERKINSON,	THOMAS PRIESTMAN,
JOSEPH WRIGHT,	and divers other Friends.



## A TESTIMONY

*Of the Monthly Meeting of Friends, held in Burlington, the 1st day  
of the 8th month, in the year of our Lord 1774, concerning  
our esteemed friend*

### JOHN WOOLMAN, DECEASED.

He was born in Northampton, in the county of Burlington, and province of West New Jersey, in the 8th month, 1720, of religious parents; who instructed him very early in the principles of the christian religion, as professed by the people called Quakers; which he esteemed a blessing to him, even in his young years, tending to preserve him from the infection of wicked children. But through the workings of the enemy, and the levity incident to youth, he frequently deviated from those parental precepts; by which he laid a renewed foundation for repentance, that was finally succeeded by a godly sorrow not to be repented of; and so he became acquainted with that sanctifying power which qualifies for true gospel ministry, into which he was called about the twenty-second year of his age; and by a faithful use of the talents committed to him, he experienced an increase, until he arrived at the state of a father capable of dividing the word aright to the different states he ministered unto; dispensing milk to babes, and meat to those of riper years. Thus he found the efficacy of that power to arise, which, according to his own expressions, "prepares the creature to stand like a trumpet, through which the Lord speaks to his people." He was a loving husband, a tender father, and very humane to every part of the creation under his care.

His concern for the poor and those in affliction, was evident by his visits to them; whom he frequently relieved by his assistance and charity. He was

for many years deeply exercised on account of the poor enslaved Africans, whose cause, as he sometimes mentioned, lay almost continually upon him; and to obtain liberty to those captives, he laboured both in public and private, and was favoured to see his endeavours crowned with considerable success. He was particularly desirous that Friends should not be instrumental to lay burdens on this oppressed people, but remember the days of suffering from which they had been providentially delivered; that if times of trouble should return, no injustice dealt to those in slavery might rise in judgment against us; but, being clear, we might on such occasions address the Almighty with a degree of confidence, for his interposition and relief: being particularly careful as to himself, not to countenance slavery, even by the use of those conveniencies of life which were furnished by their labour.

He was desirous to have his own, and the minds of others, redeemed from the pleasures and immoderate profits of this world, and to fix them on those joys which fade not away; his principal care being after a life of purity, endeavouring to avoid not only the grosser pollutions, but those also which appearing in a more refined dress, are not sufficiently guarded against by some well disposed people. In the latter part of his life, he was remarkable for the plainness and simplicity of his dress, and as much as possible, avoided the use of plate, costly furniture, and feasting; thereby endeavouring to become an example of temperance and self-denial, which he believed himself called unto; and was favoured with peace therein, altho' it carried the appearance of great austerity in the view of some. He was very moderate in his charges in the way of business, and in his desires after gain; and tho' a man of industry, avoided, and strove much to lead others out of extreme labour and anxiousness after perishable things; being desirous that the strength of our bodies might not be spent in procuring things unprofitable, and that we might use moderation and kindness

to the brute animals under our care, to prize the use of them as a great favour, and by no means abuse them; that the gifts of Providence should be thankfully received and applied to the uses they were designed.

He several times opened a school at Mount Holly for the instruction of poor Friends' children and others, being concerned for their help and improvement therein. His love and care for the rising youth among us was truly great, recommending to parents and those who have the charge of them, to choose conscientious and pious tutors; saying, "It is a lovely sight to behold innocent children," and that "to labour for their help against that which would mar the beauty of their minds, is a debt we owe them."

His ministry was sound, very deep and penetrating; sometimes pointing out the dangerous situation which indulgence and custom leads into; frequently exhorting others, especially the youth, not to be discouraged at the difficulties which occur, but press after purity. He often expressed an earnest engagement that *pure wisdom* should be attended to, which would lead into lowliness of mind, and resignation to the Divine will; in which state small possessions here would be sufficient.

In transacting the affairs of discipline, his judgment was sound and clear, and he was very useful in treating with those who had done amiss; he visited such in a private way in that plainness which Truth dictates, showing great tenderness and christian forbearance. He was a constant attender of our Yearly Meeting, in which he was a good example, and particularly useful; assisting in the business thereof with great weight and attention. He several times visited most of the meetings of Friends in this and the neighbouring provinces, with the concurrence of the monthly meeting to which he belonged, and we have reason to believe had good service therein, generally or always expressing at his return how it had fared with him, and the evidence of peace in his mind for thus perfor-

ming his duty. He was often concerned with other Friends in the important service of visiting families, which he was enabled to go through to satisfaction.

In the minutes of the meeting of ministers and elders for this Quarter, at the foot of a list of the members of that meeting, made about five years before his death, we find in his hand writing the following observation and reflections: "As looking over the minutes made by persons who have put off this body, hath sometimes revived in me a thought how ages pass away; so this list may probably revive a like thought in some, when I and the rest of the persons above named, are centred in another state of being. The Lord, who was the guide of my youth, hath in tender mercies helped me hitherto; he hath healed me of wounds, he hath helped me out of grievous entanglements; he remains to be the strength of my life; to whom I desire to devote myself in time, and in eternity." *Signed*, John Woolman.

In the 12th month, 1771, he acquainted this meeting that he found his mind drawn towards a religious visit to Friends in some parts of England, particularly in Yorkshire. In the 1st month, 1772, he obtained our certificate; which was approved and endorsed by our Quarterly meeting, and by the Half-year's meeting of ministers and elders at Philadelphia. He embarked on his voyage in the 5th, and arrived in London in the 6th month following, at the time of their annual meeting in that city. During his short visit to Friends in that kingdom, we are informed that his services were acceptable and edifying. In his last illness he uttered many lively and comfortable expressions, being perfectly resigned, having no will either to live or die; as appears by the testimony of Friends at York in Great Britain, in the suburbs whereof, at the house of our friend Thomas Priestman, he died of the small-pox, on the 7th day of the 10th month, 1772; and was buried in Friends' burying ground in that city, on the 9th of the same, after a large and solid meeting held on the occasion, at their

great meeting house; aged near fifty-two years; a minister upwards of thirty years; during which time he belonged to Mount Holly particular meeting, which he diligently attended when at home and in health of body; and his labours of love, and pious care for the prosperity of Friends in the blessed Truth, we hope may not be forgotten, but that his good works may be remembered to edification.

Signed in, and by order of the said meeting, by  
SAMUEL ALLINSON, Clerk.

Read and approved at our Quarterly meeting, held at Burlington, the 29th of the 8th month, 1774.

Signed by order of said meeting.  
DANIEL SMITH, Clerk.



# JOURNAL.

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## CHAPTER I.

His birth and parentage; with some account of the operations of Divine grace on his mind in youth—His first appearance in the ministry—And his considerations, while young, on the keeping of slaves.

I have often felt a motion of love to leave some hints in writing of my experience of the goodness of God: and now, in the thirty-sixth year of my age, I begin this work.

I was born in Northampton, Burlington county, West Jersey, in the year 1720; and before I was seven years old, I began to be acquainted with the operations of Divine love. Through the care of my parents, I was taught to read near as soon as I was capable of it: and as I went from school one seventh-day, I remember, while my companions went to play by the way, I went forward out of sight, and sitting down, I read the 22nd chapter of the Revelations. "He showed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb," &c. and in reading it, my mind was drawn to seek after that pure habitation, which I then believed God had prepared for his servants. The place where I sat, and the sweetness that attended my mind, remain fresh in my memory.

This, and the like gracious visitations, had that effect upon me, that when boys used ill language, it troubled me; and, through the continued mercies of God, I was preserved from it. The pious instructions of my parents were often fresh in my mind when I happened to be among wicked children, and were of use to me.

My parents having a large family of children, used frequently, on first-days after meeting, to put us to read in the holy scriptures, or some religious books, one after another, the rest sitting by without much conversation; which I have since often thought was a good practice. From what I had read and heard, I believed there had been in past ages, people who walked in uprightness before God in a degree exceeding any that I knew, or heard of, now living: and the apprehension of their being less steadiness and firmness amongst people in this age than in past ages, often troubled me while I was a child.

A thing remarkable in my childhood was, that once as I went to a neighbour's house, I saw, on the way, a robbin sitting on her nest, and as I came near she went off, but having young ones, flew about, and with many cries expressed her concern for them. I stood and threw stones at her, till one striking her, she fell down dead. At first I was pleased with the exploit; but after a few minutes was seized with horror, as having in a sportive way, killed an innocent creature while she was careful for her young. I beheld her lying dead, and thought those young ones for which she was so careful, must now perish for want of their dam to nourish them; and after some painful considerations on the subject, I climbed up the tree, took all the young birds, and killed them; supposing that better than to leave them to pine away and die miserably: and believed in this case, that scripture proverb was fulfilled, "The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel." I then went on my errand, but, for some hours, could think of little else but the cruelties I had committed, and was much troubled.

Thus He whose tender mercies are over all his works, hath placed a principle in the human mind which incites to exercise goodness towards every living creature; and this being singly attended to, people become tender-hearted and sympathizing; but being frequently and totally rejected, the mind becomes shut up in a contrary disposition.



About the twelfth year of my age, my father being abroad, my mother reprov'd me for some misconduct, to which I made an undutiful reply; and the next first-day, as I was with my father returning from meeting, he told me he understood I had behaved amiss to my mother, and advis'd me to be more careful in future. I knew myself blameable, and in shame and confusion remained silent. Being thus awaken'd to a sense of my wickedness, I felt remorse in my mind; and getting home, I retir'd and pray'd to the Lord to forgive me; and do not remember that I ever after that, spok'e unhandsomely to either of my parents, however foolish in some other things.

Having attain'd the age of sixteen years, I began to love wanton company: and though I was preserv'd from profane language and scandalous conduct, still I perceiv'd a plant in me which produc'd much wild grapes. Yet my merciful Father forsook me not utterly, but at times, through his grace, I was brought seriously to consider my ways; and the sight of my backslidings affect'd me with sorrow: but for want of rightly attending to the reproofs of instruction, vanity was added to vanity, and repentance to repentance: upon the whole, my mind was more and more alienated from the Truth, and I hasten'd towards destruction. While I meditate on the gulf towards which I travel'd, and reflect on my youthful disobedience, for these things I weep, mine eye runneth down with water.

Advancing in age, the number of my acquaintance increased, and thereby my way grew more difficult. Though I had heretofore found comfort in reading the holy scriptures, and thinking on heavenly things, I was now estrang'd therefrom. I knew I was going from the flock of Christ, and had no resolution to return; hence serious reflections were uneasy to me, and youthful vanities and diversions my greatest pleasure. Running in this road I found many like myself; and we associat'd in that which is reverse to true friendship.

But in this swift race it pleased God to visit me with sickness, so that I doubted of recovering: and then did darkness, horror and amazement, with full force, seize me, even when my pain and distress of body was very great. I thought it would have been better for me never to have had a being, than to see the day which I now saw. I was filled with confusion; and in great affliction, both of mind and body, I lay and bewailed myself. I had no confidence to lift up my cries to God, whom I had thus offended; but, in a deep sense of my great folly, I was humbled before him: and at length, that Word which is as a fire and a hammer, broke and dissolved my rebellious heart, and then my cries were put up in contrition; and in the multitude of his mercies I found inward relief, and felt a close engagement, that if he was pleased to restore my health, I might walk humbly before him.

After my recovery, this exercise remained with me a considerable time; but, by degrees, giving way to youthful vanities, they gained strength, and getting with wanton young people I lost ground. The Lord had been very gracious, and spoke peace to me in the time of my distress, and I now most ungratefully turned again to folly; on which account, at times, I felt sharp reproof, but did not get low enough to cry for help. I was not so hardy as to commit things scandalous; but to exceed in vanity, and promote mirth, was my chief study. Still I retained a love and esteem for pious people; and their company brought an awe upon me. My dear parents, several times, admonished me in the fear of the Lord, and their admonition entered into my heart, and had a good effect for a season; but not getting deep enough to pray rightly, the tempter when he came found entrance. I remember, once having spent a part of the day in wantonness, as I went to bed at night, there lay in a window near my bed, a bible, which I opened, and first cast my eye on the text, "we lie down in our shame, and our confusion covers us." This I knew to be

my case; and meeting with so unexpected a reproof, I was somewhat affected with it, and went to bed under remorse of conscience; which I soon cast off again.

Thus time passed on: my heart was replenished with mirth and wantonness, while pleasing scenes of vanity were presented to my imagination,—till I attained the age of eighteen years; near which time I felt the judgments of God in my soul, like a consuming fire; and looking over my past life, the prospect was moving. I was often sad, and longed to be delivered from those vanities; then again my heart was strongly inclined to them, and there was in me a sore conflict: at times I turned to folly; and then again sorrow and confusion took hold of me. In a while, I resolved totally to leave off some of my vanities; but there was a secret reserve in my heart, of the more refined part of them, and I was not low enough to find true peace. Thus for some months, I had great troubles; there remaining in me an unsubjected will, which rendered my labours fruitless: till at length, through the merciful continuance of heavenly visitations, I was made to bow down in spirit before the Lord. I remember one evening I had spent some time in reading a pious author; and walking out alone, I humbly prayed to the Lord for his help, that I might be delivered from all those vanities which so ensnared me. Thus being brought low, he helped me; and as I learned to bear the cross, I felt refreshment to come from his presence: but not keeping in that strength which gave victory, I lost ground again; the sense of which greatly afflicted me: and I sought deserts and lonely places, and there with tears did confess my sins to God, and humbly craved help of him. And I may say with reverence, he was near to me in my troubles, and in those times of humiliation opened my ear to discipline.

I was now lead to look seriously at the means by which I was drawn from the pure Truth, and learned this, that if I would live in the life which the faithful servants of God lived in, I must not go into company

as heretofore in my own will; but all the cravings of sense must be governed by a Divine principle. In times of sorrow and abasement, these instructions were sealed upon me, and I felt the power of Christ prevail over selfish desires, so that I was preserved in a good degree of steadiness; and being young, and believing at that time, that a single life was best for me, I was strengthened to keep from such company as had often been a snare to me.

I kept steadily to meetings; spent first-days afternoon chiefly in reading the scriptures and other good books; and was early convinced in my mind, that true religion consisted in an inward life, wherein the heart doth love and reverence God the Creator, and learns to exercise true justice and goodness, not only toward all men, but also toward the brute creatures—that as the mind was moved by an inward principle, to love God as an invisible, incomprehensible Being; by the same principle it was moved to love him in all his manifestations in the visible world—that, as by his breath, the flame of life was kindled in all animal sensible creatures, to say we love God as unseen, and at the same time, exercise cruelty toward the least creature moving by his life, or by life derived from him, was a contradiction in itself.

I found no narrowness respecting sects and opinions; but believed, that sincere upright-hearted people, in every society, who truly love God, were accepted of him.

As I lived under the cross, and simply followed the openings of Truth, my mind, from day to day, was more enlightened; my former acquaintances were left to judge of me as they would, for I found it safest for me to live in private and keep these things sealed up in my own breast. While I silently ponder on that change which was wrought in me, I find no language equal to it, nor any means to convey to another a clear idea of it. I looked upon the works of God in this visible creation, and an awfulness covered me: my heart was tender and often contrite, and

universal love to my fellow-creatures increased in me. This will be understood by such who have trodden in the same path.

Some glances of real beauty may be seen in their faces, who dwell in true meekness. There is a harmony in the sound of that voice to which Divine love gives utterance, and some appearance of right order in their temper and conduct, whose passions are regulated; yet all these do not fully show forth that inward life to such who have not felt it; but this white stone and new name is known rightly to such only who have it.

Now though I had been thus strengthened to bear the cross, I still found myself in great danger, having many weaknesses attending me, and strong temptations to wrestle with; in the feeling whereof I frequently withdrew into private places, and often with tears besought the Lord to help me, whose gracious ear was opened to my cry.

All this time I lived with my parents, and wrought on the plantation; and having had schooling pretty well for a planter, I used to improve it in winter evenings, and other leisure times; and being now in the twenty-first year of my age, a man, in much business at shop-keeping and baking, asked me if I would hire with him to tend shop and keep books. I acquainted my father with the proposal; and, after some deliberation, it was agreed for me to go.

At home I had lived retired; and now having a prospect of being much in the way of company, I felt frequent and fervent cries in my heart to God, the father of mercies, that he would preserve me from all taint and corruption; that, in this more public employment, I might serve Him my gracious Redeemer, in that humility and self-denial with which I had been, in a small degree, exercised in a more private life.— The man who employed me, furnished a shop in Mount Holly, about five miles from my father's house and six from his own; and there I lived alone, and tended his shop. Shortly after my settlement here,

I was visited by several young people, my former acquaintances, who knew not but vanities would be as agreeable to me now as ever; and at these times, I cried to the Lord in secret for wisdom and strength; for I felt myself encompassed with difficulties, and had fresh occasion to bewail the follies of time past, in contracting a familiarity with libertine people.— And as I had now left my father's house outwardly, I found my heavenly Father to be merciful to me beyond what I can express.

By day I was much among people, and had many trials to go through; but in the evenings I was mostly alone, and may with thankfulness acknowledge, that in those times the spirit of supplication was often poured upon me; under which I was frequently exercised, and felt my strength renewed.

In a few months after I came here, my master bought several Scotch men-servants, from on board a vessel, and brought them to Mount Holly to sell; one of which was taken sick, and died. In the latter part of his sickness, he, being delirious, used to curse and swear most sorrowfully; and the next night after his burial, I was left to sleep alone in the same chamber where he died. I perceived in me a timorousness: I knew, however, that I had not injured the man, but assisted in taking care of him according to my capacity; and was not free to ask any one, on that occasion, to sleep with me. Nature was feeble; but every trial was a fresh incitement to give myself up wholly to the service of God; for I found no helper like him in times of trouble.

After a while, my former acquaintances gave over expecting me as one of their company; and I began to be known to some whose conversation was helpful to me. And now, as I had experienced the love of God, through Jesus Christ, to redeem me from many pollutions, and to be a succour to me through a sea of conflicts, with which no person was fully acquainted; and as my heart was often enlarged in this heavenly principle, I felt a tender compassion for the youth

who remained entangled in snares like those which had entangled me. From one time to another, this love and tenderness increased; and my mind was more strongly engaged for the good of my fellow-creatures. I went to meetings in an awful frame of mind, and endeavoured to be inwardly acquainted with the language of the true Shepherd: and one day, being under a strong exercise of spirit, I stood up, and said some words in a meeting; but not keeping close to the Divine opening, I said more than was required of me; and being soon sensible of my error, I was afflicted in mind some weeks, without any light or comfort, even to that degree that I could not take satisfaction in any thing. I remembered God, and was troubled; and, in the depth of my distress, he had pity upon me, and sent the Comforter. I then felt forgiveness for my offence, and my mind became calm and quiet, being truly thankful to my gracious Redeemer for his mercies. And after this, feeling the spring of Divine love opened, and a concern to speak, I said a few words in a meeting, in which I found peace; this, I believe, was about six weeks from the first time.— And as I was thus humbled and disciplined under the cross, my understanding became more strengthened to distinguish the language of the pure spirit which inwardly moves upon the heart, and taught me to wait in silence sometimes many weeks together, until I felt that rise which prepares the creature to stand like a trumpet, through which the Lord speaks to his flock.

From an inward purifying, and steadfast abiding under it, springs a lively operative desire for the good of others. All the faithful are not called to the public ministry; but whoever are called to it, are called to minister of that which they have tasted and handled spiritually. The outward modes of worship are various; but wherever any are true ministers of Jesus Christ, it is from the operation of his spirit upon their hearts, first purifying them, and thus giving them a just sense of the conditions of others.

This truth was early fixed in my mind: and I was taught to watch the pure opening, and to take heed, lest, while I was standing to speak, my own will should get uppermost, and cause me to utter words from worldly wisdom, and depart from the channel of the true gospel ministry.

In the management of my outward affairs, I may say with thankfulness, I found Truth to be my support; and I was respected in my master's family, who came to live in Mount Holly within two years after my going there.

About the twenty-third year of my age, I had many fresh and heavenly openings, in respect to the care and providence of the Almighty over his creatures in general, and over man as the most noble amongst those which are visible. And being clearly convinced in my judgment, that to place my whole trust in God was best for me, I felt renewed engagements, that in all things I might act on an inward principle of virtue, and pursue worldly business no further than as truth opened my way therein.

About the time called christmas, I observed many people from the country, and dwellers in town, who, resorting to public houses, spent their time in drinking and vain sports, tending to corrupt one another; on which account I was much troubled. At one house in particular there was much disorder; and I believed it was a duty laid on me to go and speak to the master of that house. I considered I was young, and that several elderly Friends in town had opportunity to see these things; but though I would gladly have been excused, yet I could not feel my mind clear.

The exercise was heavy: and as I was reading what the Almighty said to Ezekiel, respecting his duty as a watchman, the matter was set home more clearly; and then, with prayers and tears, I besought the Lord for his assistance, who, in loving kindness, gave me a resigned heart. Then, at a suitable opportunity, I went to the public house; and seeing the man amongst much company, I went to him and told him I want-



ed to speak with him; so we went aside, and there, in the fear and dread of the Almighty, I expressed to him what rested on my mind; which he took kindly, and afterward showed more regard to me than before. In a few years afterwards he died, middle-aged; and I often thought, that had I neglected my duty in that case, it would have given me great trouble; and I was humbly thankful to my gracious Father, who had supported me herein.

My employer having a negro woman, sold her, and directed me to write a bill of sale; the man being waiting who bought her. The thing was sudden; and though the thoughts of writing an instrument of slavery for one of my fellow-creatures felt uneasy, yet I remembered I was hired by the year;—that it was my master who directed me to do it,—and that it was an elderly man, a member of our society who bought her; so, through weakness, I gave way, and wrote it; but, at the executing it, I was so afflicted in my mind, that I said before my master and the Friend, that I believed slave-keeping to be a practice inconsistent with the christian religion. This in some degree abated my uneasiness; yet, as often as I reflected seriously upon it, I thought I should have been clearer, if I had desired to be excused from it, as a thing against my conscience; for such it was.—Some time after this, a young man, of our society, spoke to me to write a conveyance of a slave to him; he having lately taken a negro into his house. After a short pause, I told him, I was not easy to write it; for though many kept slaves in our society as in others, I still believed the practice was not right; and desired to be excused from doing the writing. I spoke to him in good will; and he told me, that keeping slaves was not altogether agreeable to his mind; but that the slave being a gift made to his wife, he had accepted of her.

## CHAPTER II.

His first journey on a religious visit, into East Jersey, in company with Abraham Farrington—His thoughts on merchandizing, and his learning a trade—His second journey, with Isaac Andrews, into Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina.—His third journey, with Peter Andrews, through part of West and East Jersey—Some account of his sister Elizabeth, and her death—His fourth journey, with Peter Andrews, through New York and Long Island, to New England—And his fifth journey, with John Sykes, to the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and the Lower Counties on Delaware.

My esteemed friend Abraham Farrington, being about to make a visit to Friends on the eastern side of this province, and having no companion, he proposed to me to go with him; and after a conference with some elderly friends, I agreed to go. So we set out on the 5th day of the 9th month, in the year 1743; and had an evening meeting at a tavern in Brunswick, a town in which none of our society dwelt; the room was full, and the people quiet.—Thence to Amboy, and had an evening meeting in the court-house; to which came many people, amongst whom were several members of assembly, they being in that town on the public affairs of the province. In both these meetings my ancient companion was enlarged to preach, in the love of the gospel. Thence we went to Woodbridge, Rahway, and Plainfield; and had six or seven meetings in places where Friends' meetings are not usually held, being made up chiefly of Presbyterians; and my beloved companion was frequently strengthened to publish the word of life amongst them. As for me, I was often silent through the meetings; and when I spake, it was with much care, that I might speak only what Truth opened.—My mind was often tender, and I learned some profitable lessons. We were out about two weeks.

Near this time, being on some outward business in which several families were concerned, and which

was attended with difficulties, some things relating thereto not being clearly stated, nor rightly understood by all, there arose some heat in the minds of the parties, and one valuable friend got off his watch. I had a great regard for him, and felt a strong inclination, after matters were settled, to speak to him concerning his conduct in that case; but I being a youth, and he far advanced in age and experience, my way appeared difficult: but after some days deliberation, and inward seeking to the Lord for assistance, I was made subject; so that I expressed what lay upon me, in a way which became my youth and his years: and though it was a hard task to me, it was well taken, and, I believe, was useful to us both.

Having now been several years with my employer, and he doing less at merchandize than heretofore, I was thoughtful of some other way of business; perceiving merchandize to be attended with much cumber, in the way of trading in these parts.

My mind, through the power of Truth, was in a good degree weaned from the desire of outward greatness, and I was learning to be content with real conveniencies that were not costly; so that a way of life free from much entanglements, appeared best for me, tho' the income might be small. I had several offers of business that appeared profitable, but did not see my way clear to accept of them; as believing the business proposed would be attended with more outward care and cumber than was required of me to engage in.

I saw that a humble man, with the blessing of the Lord, might live on a little; and that where the heart was set on greatness, success in business did not satisfy the craving; but that commonly with an increase of wealth, the desire of wealth increased. There was a care on my mind so to pass my time, that nothing might hinder me from the most steady attention to the voice of the true Shepherd.

My employer, though now a retailer of goods, was by trade a tailor, and kept a servant man at that busi-

ness; and I began to think about learning the trade, expecting that if I should settle, I might by this trade, and a little retailing of goods, get a living in a plain way, without the load of great business. I mentioned it to my employer, and we soon agreed on terms: and then, when I had leisure from the affairs of merchandize, I worked with his man. I believed the hand of Providence pointed out this business for me, and was taught to be content with it; though I felt, at times, a disposition that would have sought for something greater: but through the revelation of Jesus Christ, I had seen the happiness of humility, and there was an earnest desire in me to enter deep into it; and, at times, this desire arose to a degree of fervent supplication, wherein my soul was so environed with heavenly light and consolation, that things were made easy to me which had been otherwise.

After some time, my employer's wife died. She was a virtuous woman, and generally beloved of her neighbours: and soon after this he left shop-keeping; and we parted. I then wrought at my trade as a tailor; carefully attended meetings for worship and discipline; and found an enlargement of gospel love in my mind, and therein a concern to visit Friends in some of the back settlements of Pennsylvania and Virginia; and being thoughtful about a companion, I expressed it to my beloved friend Isaac Andrews, who then told me that he had drawings to the same places; and also to go through Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina. After considerable time passed, and several conferences with him, I felt easy to accompany him throughout, if way opened for it. I opened the case in our monthly meeting, and Friends expressing their unity therewith, we obtained certificates to travel as companions; his from Haddonfield, and mine from Burlington.

We left our province on the 12th day of the 3rd month, 1746, and had several meetings in the upper part of Chester county, and near Lancaster; in some of which the love of God prevailed, uniting us to-

gether in his service. Then we crossed the river Susquehannah, and had several meetings in a new settlement, called the Red Lands; the oldest of which, as I was informed, did not exceed ten years. It is the poorer sort of people that commonly begin to improve remote deserts: with a small stock they have houses to build, lands to clear and fence, corn to raise, clothes to provide, and children to educate; that Friends, who visit such, may well sympathize with them in their hardships in the wilderness: And tho' the best entertainment such can give, may seem coarse to some who are used to cities, or old settled places, it becomes the disciples of Christ to be content with it. Our hearts were sometimes enlarged in the love of our heavenly Father amongst these people; and the sweet influence of his spirit supported us through some difficulties: to him be the praise.

We passed on to Manaquacy, Fairfax, Hopewell, and Shenandoah, and had meetings; some of which were comfortable and edifying. From Shenandoah, we set off in the afternoon for the old settlements of Friends in Virginia; and the first night, we, with our pilot, lodged in the woods, our horses feeding near us; but he being poorly provided with a horse, and we young and having good horses, were free the next day to part with him; and did so. In two days after, we reached to our friend John Cheagle's, in Virginia. So we took the meetings in our way thro' Virginia;—were, in some degree, baptized into a feeling sense of the conditions of the people; and our exercise in general was more painful in these old settlements, than it had been amongst the back inhabitants: but through the goodness of our heavenly Father, the well of living waters was, at times, opened to our encouragement, and the refreshment of the sincere-hearted. We went on to Perquimons, in North Carolina;—had several meetings, which were large; and found some openness in those parts, and a hopeful appearance amongst the young people. So we turned again to Virginia, and attended most of the meetings which we

had not been at before, labouring amongst Friends in the love of Jesus Christ, as ability was given: and thence went to the mountains, up James' river, to a new settlement; and had several meetings amongst the people, some of whom had lately joined in membership with our society.

In our journeying to and fro, we found some honest-hearted Friends, who appeared to be concerned for the cause of Truth among a backsliding people.

From Virginia, we crossed over the river Potomac, at Hoe's ferry, and made a general visit to the meetings of Friends on the Western Shore of Maryland; and were at their Quarterly meeting. We had some hard labour amongst them, endeavouring to discharge our duty honestly, as way opened, in the love of Truth: and thence, taking sundry meetings in our way, we passed homeward; where, thro' the favour of Divine Providence, we reached the 16th day of the 6th month, 1746; and I may say, that through the assistance of the holy Spirit, which mortifies selfish desires, my companion and I travelled in harmony, and parted in the nearness of true brotherly love.— We travelled, by estimation, fifteen hundred miles, and were out three months and four days.

Two things were remarkable to me in this journey: first, in regard to my entertainment; when I eat, drank and lodged free-cost with people who lived in ease on the hard labour of their slaves, I felt uneasy; and as my mind was inward to the Lord, I found, from place to place, this uneasiness return upon me, at times, through the whole visit. Where the masters bore a good share of the burden; and lived frugally, so that their servants were well provided for, and their labour moderate, I felt more easy; but where they lived in a costly way, and laid heavy burdens on their slaves, my exercise was often great, and I frequently had conversation with them, in private, concerning it. Secondly, this trade of importing slaves from their native country being much encouraged amongst them, and the white people and their chil-

dren so generally living without much labour, was frequently the subject of my serious thoughts; and I saw, in these southern provinces, so many vices and corruptions, increased by this trade and this way of life, that it appeared to me as a dark gloominess hanging over the land: and though now many willingly run into it, yet in future the consequences will be grievous to posterity! I express it as it hath appeared to me, not at once, nor twice, but as a matter fixed on my mind.

Soon after my return home, I felt an increasing concern for Friends on our sea coast; and on the 8th day of the 8th month, 1746, with the unity of Friends, and in company with my beloved friend and neighbour, Peter Andrews, brother to my companion before mentioned, we set forward, and visited the meetings generally about Salem, Cape May, Great and Little Egg Harbour; and had meetings at Barnegat, Manahockin, and Squan, and so to the yearly meeting at Shrewsbury. Through the goodness of the Lord, way was opened, and the strength of Divine love was sometimes felt in our assemblies, to the comfort and help of those who were rightly concerned before him. We were out twenty-two days, and rode, by computation, three hundred and forty miles. At Shrewsbury yearly meeting, we met with our dear friends, Michael Lightfoot and Abraham Farrington, who had good service there.

The winter following died my eldest sister, Elizabeth Woolman, jun. of the small-pox, aged thirty-one years. She was, from her youth, of a thoughtful disposition; and very compassionate to her acquaintances in their sickness or distress, being ready to help as far as she could. She was dutiful to her parents; one instance whereof follows:—It happened that she and two of her sisters, being then near the estate of young women, had an inclination one first-day after meeting to go on a visit to some other young women at some distance off; whose company, I believe, would have done them no good. They expressed their desire to

our parents; who were dissatisfied with the proposal, and stopped them. The same day, as my sisters and I were together, and they talking about their disappointment, Elizabeth expressed her contentment under it; signifying she believed it might be for their good.

A few years after she attained to mature age, through the gracious visitations of God's love, she was strengthened to live a self-denying, exemplary life, giving herself much to reading and meditation.

The following letter may show, in some degree, her disposition.

Haddonfield, 1st day of 11th month, 1743.

Beloved brother, John Woolman,—

In that love which desires the welfare of all men, I write unto thee: I received thine, dated 2nd day of the 10th month last, with which I was comforted.— My spirit is bowed with thankfulness that I should be remembered, who am unworthy; but the Lord is full of mercy, and his goodness is extended to the meanest of his creation: therefore, in his infinite love, he hath pitied and spared, and shewed mercy, that I have not been cut off nor quite lost; but, at times, I am refreshed and comforted as with the glimpse of his presence, which is more to the immortal part, than all which this world can afford. So, with desires for thy preservation with my own, I remain thy affectionate sister,

ELIZ. WOOLMAN, JUN.

The fore part of her illness she was in great sadness and dejection of mind, of which she told one of her intimate friends, and said, "When I was a young girl I was wanton and airy, but I thought I had thoroughly repented for it:" and added, "I have, of late, had great satisfaction in meetings." Though she was thus disconsolate, still she retained a hope, which was as an anchor to her: and some time after, the same friend came again to see her, to whom she mentioned her former expressions, and said, "It is other-



wise now; for the Lord hath rewarded me seven-fold; and I am unable to express the greatness of his love manifested to me." Her disorder appearing dangerous, and our mother being sorrowful, she took notice of it, and said, "Dear mother, weep not for me; I go to my God;" and many times, with an audible voice, uttered praise to her Redeemer.

A friend coming some miles to see her the morning before she died, asked her how she did? She answered, "I have had a hard night, but shall not have another such; for I shall die, and it will be well with my soul:" and accordingly died the next evening.

The following ejaculations were found amongst her writings; wrote, I believe, at four times:

1. Oh! that my head were as waters, and mine eyes as a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night, until acquainted with my God.

2. O Lord, that I may enjoy thy presence; or else my time is lost, and my life a snare to my soul.

3. O Lord, that I may receive bread from thy table, and that thy grace may abound in me.

4. O Lord, that I may be acquainted with thy presence, that I may be seasoned with thy salt, that thy grace may abound in me.

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Of late I found drawings in my mind to visit Friends in New England and thereaway; and having an opportunity of joining in company with my beloved friend Peter Andrews, we, having obtained certificates from our monthly meeting, set forward on the 16th day of the 3rd month, 1747, and reached the Yearly Meeting at Long Island; at which were our friends, Samuel Nottingham from England, John Griffith, Jane Hoskins, and Elizabeth Hudson, from Pennsylvania, and Jacob Andrews from Chesterfield.—Several of them were favoured in their public exercises, and, through the goodness of the Lord, we had some edifying meetings. After this, my companion and I visited Friends on Long Island; and, through

the mercies of God, we were helped in the work.— Besides going to the settled meetings of Friends, we were at a general meeting at Setawket, chiefly made up of other societies; and had a meeting at Oyster Bay, in a dwelling house, at which were many people: at the first of which there was not much said by way of testimony; but it was, I believe, a good meeting: at the latter, through the springing up of living waters, it was a day to be thankfully remembered. Having visited the island, we went over to the main land, taking meetings in our way to Oblong, Nine Partners, and New Milford.

In these back settlements we met with several people, who, thro' the immediate workings of the spirit of Christ in their minds, were drawn from the vanities of the world, to an inward acquaintance with him: they were educated in the way of the Presbyterians. A considerable number of the youth, members of that society, were used often to spend their time together in merriment; but some of the principal young men of that company being visited by the powerful workings of the spirit of Truth, and thereby led humbly to take up the cross, could no longer join in those vanities. And as these stood steadfast to that inward conviction, they were made a blessing to some of their former companions; so that, through the power of Truth, several were brought into a close exercise concerning the eternal well-being of their souls. These young people continued for a time to frequent their public worship; and besides that, had meetings of their own; which meetings were a while allowed by their preacher, who sometimes met with them: but, in time, their judgment in matters of religion disagreeing with some of the articles of the Presbyterians, their meetings were disapproved by that society; and such of them who stood firm to their duty as it was inwardly manifested, had many difficulties to go through.— Their meetings were, in a while, dropped; some of them returning to the Presbyterians, and others of them, after a time, joined to our religious society. I

had conversation with some of the latter, to my help and edification; and believe several of them are acquainted with the nature of that worship which is performed in spirit and in truth.

From hence, accompanied by Amos Powel, a Friend from Long Island, we rode through Connecticut, chiefly inhabited by Presbyterians, who were generally civil to us, so far as I saw: and after three days riding, we came amongst Friends in the colony of Rhode Island. We visited Friends in and about Newport and Dartmouth, and the meetings generally in those parts; then to Boston; and proceeded eastward as far as Dover: and then returned to Newport, and not far from thence, we met our friend Thomas Gawthrop from England, who was then on a visit to these provinces. From Newport we sailed to Nantucket; were there near a week; and from thence came over to Dartmouth: and having finished our visit in these parts, we crossed the Sound from New London to Long Island; and taking some meetings on the island, proceeded homeward; where we reached the 13th of the 7th month, 1747; having rode about fifteen hundred miles, and sailed about one hundred and fifty.

In this journey, I may say in general, we were sometimes in much weakness, and laboured under discouragement; and at other times, through the renewed manifestations of Divine love, we had seasons of refreshment, wherein the power of Truth prevailed. We were taught, by renewed experience, to labour for an inward stillness; at no time to seek for words, but to live in the spirit of Truth, and utter that to the people which Truth opened in us. My beloved companion and I belonged both to one meeting, came forth in the ministry near the same time, and were inwardly united in the work. He was about thirteen years older than I, bore the heaviest burden, and was an instrument of the greatest use.

Finding a concern to visit Friends in the lower counties on Delaware, and on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and having an opportunity to join with

my well-beloved, ancient friend, John Sykes, we obtained certificates, and set off the 7th day of the 8th month, 1748;—were at the meetings of Friends in the lower counties, attended the Yearly Meeting at Little Creek, and made a visit to chief of the meetings on the Eastern Shore; and so home by the way of Nottingham. We were abroad about six weeks; and rode, by computation, about five hundred and fifty miles.

Our exercise, at times, was heavy; but, through the goodness of the Lord, we were often refreshed; and I may say by experience, “He is a strong hold in the day of trouble.” Though our society, in these parts, appeared to me to be in a declining condition; yet I believe the Lord hath a people amongst them, who labour to serve him uprightly, but have many difficulties to encounter.

## CHAPTER III.

His marriage—The death of his father—His journeys into the upper part of New Jersey, and afterwards into Pennsylvania—Considerations on keeping slaves, and his visits to the families of Friends at several times and places—An epistle from the general meeting—His journey to Long Island—Considerations on trading, and on the use of spirituous liquors and costly apparel—And his letter to a friend.

About this time, believing it good for me to settle, and thinking seriously about a companion, my heart was turned to the Lord with desires that he would give me wisdom to proceed therein agreeable to his will; and he was pleased to give me a well-inclined damsel, Sarah Ellis; to whom I was married the 18th day of the 8th month, 1749.

In the fall of the year 1750 died my father, Samuel Woolman, with a fever, aged about sixty years.

In his life-time he manifested much care for us his children, that in our youth we might learn to fear the Lord; often endeavouring to imprint in our minds the true principles of virtue, and was particularly concerned to cherish in us a spirit of mercy and tenderness, not only towards poor people, but also towards all creatures of which we had the command.

After my return from Carolina in the year 1746, I made some observations on keeping slaves, which some time before his decease I showed him; and he perused the manuscript, proposed a few alterations, and appeared well satisfied that I found a concern on that account. And in his last sickness, as I was watching with him one night, he being so far spent that there was no expectation of his recovery, but had the perfect use of his understanding, he asked me concerning the manuscript, whether I expected soon to proceed to take the advice of Friends in publishing it? and after some conversation thereon, said, "I have all along been deeply affected with the oppression of the

poor negroes; and now, at last, my concern for them is as great as ever."

By his direction, I had wrote his will in a time of health; and that night he desired me to read it to him, which I did; and he said it was agreeable to his mind. He then made mention of his end, which he believed was now near; and signified, that though he was sensible of many imperfections in the course of his life, yet his experience of the power of Truth, and of the love and goodness of God from time to time, even till now, was such, that he had no doubt in leaving this life, he should enter into one more happy.

The next day, his sister Elizabeth came to see him, and told him of the decease of their sister Ann; who died a few days before. He then said, "I reckon sister Ann was free to leave this world?" Elizabeth said she was. He then said, "I also am free to leave it;" and being in great weakness of body, he said, "I hope I shall shortly go to rest." He continued in a weighty frame of mind, and was sensible till near the last.

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On the 2nd day of the 9th month, 1751, feeling drawings in my mind to visit Friends at the Great Meadows, in the upper part of this province, with the unity of our monthly meeting, I went there; and had some searching laborious exercise amongst Friends in those parts, and found inward peace therein. I was out nine days, and rode about one hundred and seventy miles.

In the 9th month, 1753, in company with my well-esteemed friend John Sykes, and with the unity of Friends, we travelled about two weeks, visiting the meetings of Friends in Bucks county. We laboured in the love of the gospel, according to the measure received; and through the mercies of him, who is strength to the poor who trust in him, we found satisfaction in our visit. And in the next winter, way opening to visit Friends' families within the compass of our monthly meeting, partly by the labours of two Friends

from Pennsylvania, I joined in some part of the work; having had a desire some time that it might go forward amongst us.

About this time, a person at some distance lying sick, his brother came to me to write his will. I knew he had slaves; and asking his brother, was told he intended to leave them as slaves to his children. As writing is a profitable employ, and offending sober people was disagreeable to my inclination, I was straitened in my mind; but as I looked to the Lord, he inclined my heart to his testimony; and I told the man, that I believed the practice of continuing slavery to this people was not right; and had a scruple in my mind against doing writings of that kind: that though many in our society kept them as slaves, still I was not easy to be concerned in it; and desired to be excused from going to write the will. I spake to him in the fear of the Lord; and he made no reply to what I said, but went away: he also had some concerns in the practice; and I thought he was displeased with me. In this case I had a fresh confirmation, that acting contrary to present outward interest, from a motive of Divine love, and in regard to truth and righteousness, and thereby incurring the resentments of people, opens the way to a treasure which is better than silver, and to a friendship exceeding the friendship of men.

The manuscript before-mentioned having lain by me several years, the publication of it rested weightily upon me; and this year I offered it to the overseers of the press, who having examined and made some small alterations in it, directed a number of copies thereof to be published, paid for out of the Yearly Meeting stock, and dispersed amongst Friends.

In the year 1754, I found my mind drawn to join in a visit to Friends' families belonging to Chesterfield monthly meeting: and having the approbation of our own, I went to their monthly meeting in order to confer with Friends, and see if way opened for it. I had conference with some of their members, the pro-

posal having been opened before in their meeting, and one Friend agreed to join with me as a companion for a beginning: but when meeting was ended, I felt great distress of mind, and doubted what way to take, or whether to go home and wait for greater clearness.— I kept my distress secret; and, going with a friend to his house, my desires were to the great Shepherd for his heavenly instruction; and in the morning I felt easy to proceed on the visit, being very low in my mind: and as my eye was turned to the Lord, waiting in families in deep reverence before him, he was pleased graciously to afford help; so that we had many comfortable opportunities, and it appeared as a fresh visitation to some young people. I spent several weeks this winter in the service; part of which time was employed near home. And again in the following winter I was several weeks in the same service; some part of the time at Shrewsbury, in company with my beloved friend John Sykes; and have cause humbly to acknowledge, that through the goodness of God, our hearts were at times, enlarged in his love; and strength was given to go through the trials which, in the course of our visit, attended us.

From a disagreement between the powers of England and France, it was now a time of trouble on this continent; and an epistle to Friends went forth from our general spring meeting, which I thought good to give a place in this journal; being as follows.

*An EPISTLE from our general spring meeting of ministers and elders for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, held at Philadelphia, from the 29th of the 3d month, to the 1st of the 4th month, inclusive, 1755.*

To Friends on the continent of America.

DEAR FRIENDS,—

In an humble sense of Divine goodness, and the gracious continuation of God's love to his people, we tenderly salute you; and are at this time therein



engaged in mind, that all of us who profess the *Truth*, as held forth and published by our worthy predecessors in this latter age of the world, may keep near to that life which is the light of men, and be strengthened to hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering; that our trust may not be in man, but in the Lord alone, who ruleth in the army of heaven, and in the kingdoms of men, before whom the earth is "as the dust of the balance, and her inhabitants as grasshoppers." Isa. xl. 22.

We (being convinced that the gracious design of the Almighty in sending his Son into the world, was to repair the breach made by disobedience, to finish sin and transgression, that his kingdom might come, and his will be done on earth as it is in heaven) have found it to be our duty to cease from those national contests productive of misery and bloodshed, and submit our cause to Him the Most High, whose tender love to his children exceeds the most warm affections of natural parents, and who hath promised to his seed throughout the earth, as to one individual, "I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee." Heb. xiii. 5. And as we, through the gracious dealings of the Lord our God, have had experience of that work which is carried on, "not by *earthly* might, nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts:" Zech. iv. 6; by which operation, that spiritual kingdom is set up, which is to subdue and break in pieces all kingdoms that oppose it, and shall stand for ever. In a deep sense thereof, and of the safety, stability and peace there is in it, we are desirous that all who profess the Truth, may be inwardly acquainted with it, and thereby be qualified to conduct in all parts of our life as becomes our peaceable profession. And we trust, as there is a faithful continuance to depend wholly upon the Almighty arm, from one generation to another, the peaceable kingdom will gradually be extended "from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth," Zech. ix. 10; to the completion of those prophecies already begun, that "nation shall not lift

up a sword against nation, nor learn war any more." Isa. ii. 4. Micah. iv. 3.

And, dearly beloved Friends, seeing we have these promises, and believe that God is beginning to fulfil them, let us constantly endeavour to have our minds sufficiently disentangled from the surfeiting cares of this life, and redeemed from the love of the world; that no earthly possessions nor enjoyments may bias our judgments, or turn us from that resignation, and entire trust in God, to which his blessing is most surely annexed: then may we say, "Our Redeemer is mighty, he will plead our cause for us." Jer. l. 34. And if, for the further promoting his most gracious purposes in the earth, he should give us to taste of that bitter cup which his faithful ones have often partook of, Oh! that we may be rightly prepared to receive it!

And now, dear Friends, with respect to the commotions and stirrings of the powers of the earth at this time near us, we are desirous that none of us may be moved thereat; "but repose ourselves in the munition of that rock that all these shakings shall not move; even in the knowledge and feeling of the eternal power of God, keeping us subjectly given up to his heavenly will; and feel it daily to mortify that which remains in any of us which is of this world: for the worldly part in any, is the changeable part, and that is up and down, full and empty, joyful and sorrowful, as things go well or ill in this world. For as the Truth is but one, and many are made partakers of its spirit, so the world is but one, and many are made partakers of the spirit of it: and so many as do partake of it, so many will be straitened and perplexed with it. But they who are single to the Truth, waiting daily to feel the life and virtue of it in their hearts, these shall rejoice in the midst of adversity,"\* and have to experience with the prophet, that "although the fig-tree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vines; the labour of the olive shall fail,

\* Stephen Crisp's Epistle.

and the fields shall yield no meat; the flock shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stalls: yet will *they* rejoice in the Lord, and joy in the God of *their* salvation." Hab. iii. 17, 18.

If, contrary to this, we profess the Truth, and not living under the power and influence of it, are producing fruits disagreeable to the purity thereof, and trust to the strength of man to support ourselves, therein our confidence will be vain. For He, who removed the hedge from his vineyard, and gave it to be trodden under foot, by reason of the wild grapes it produced, (Isa. v. 5,) remains unchangeable: and if, for the chastisement of wickedness, and the further promoting his own glory, he doth arise, even to shake terribly the earth, who then may oppose him, and prosper!

We remain, in the love of the gospel, your friends and brethren.

Signed in and on behalf of our said meeting, by

JACOB HOWELL,	JOHN EVANS,
JAMES BARTRAM,	MORDECAI YARNALL,
JOSEPH WHITE,	DANIEL STANTON,
JOHN SCARBROUGH,	JOHN CHURCHMAN,
JOHN WOOLMAN,	WILLIAM MORRIS,
JOSIAH FOSTER,	ISAAC ANDREWS,
JOSEPH TOMLINSON,	SAMUEL ABBOTT.

Scrupling to do writings relative to keeping slaves, having been a means of sundry small trials to me, in which I have so evidently felt my own will set aside, that I think it good to mention a few of them.

Tradesmen and retailers of goods, who depend on their business for a livelihood, are naturally inclined to keep the good will of their customers; nor is it a pleasant thing for young men to be under any necessity to question the judgment or honesty of elderly men, and more especially of such who have a fair reputation. Deep rooted customs, though wrong, are not easily altered; but it is the duty of every one to

be firm in that which they certainly know is right for them.

A charitable, benevolent man, well acquainted with a negro, may, I believe, under some circumstances, keep him in his family as a servant, on no other motive than the negro's good: but man, as man, knows not what shall be after him; nor hath he any assurance that his children will attain to that perfection in wisdom and goodness necessary in every absolute governor. Hence it is clear to me, that I ought not to be the scribe where wills are drawn in which some children are made absolute masters over others during life.

About this time, an ancient man of good esteem in the neighbourhood, came to my house to get his will wrote. He had young negroes; and I, asking him privately how he purposed to dispose of them, he told me: I then said, I cannot write thy will without breaking my own peace; and respectfully gave him my reasons for it. He signified that he had a choice that I should have wrote it; but as I could not, consistent with my conscience, he did not desire it; and so he got it wrote by some other person. And a few years after, there being great alterations in his family, he came again to get me to write his will: his negroes were yet young; and his son, to whom he intended to give them, was, since he first spoke to me, from a libertine become a sober young man; and he supposed, that I would have been free, on that account, to write it. We had much friendly talk on the subject, and then deferred it: and a few days after, he came again, and directed their freedom; and so I wrote his will.

Near the time the last mentioned friend first spoke to me, a neighbour received a bad bruise in his body, and sent for me to bleed him; which being done, he desired me to write his will. I took notes; and amongst other things, he told me to which of his children he gave his young negro. I considered the pain and distress he was in, and knew not how it would end: so I wrote his will, save only that part concerning his

slave; and, carrying it to his bed-side, read it to him: and then told him, in a friendly way, that I could not write any instruments by which my fellow-creatures were made slaves, without bringing trouble on my own mind. I let him know that I charged nothing for what I had done; and desired to be excused from doing the other part in the way he proposed. We then had a serious conference on the subject; and at length, he agreeing to set her free, I finished his will.

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Having found drawings in my mind to visit Friends on Long Island; after obtaining a certificate from our monthly meeting, I set off on the 12th day of the 5th month, 1756. When I reached the island, I lodged the first night at the house of my dear friend Richard Hallet: the next day, being the first of the week, I attended the meeting at Newtown; in which we experienced the renewed manifestation of the love of God, to the comfort of the honest-hearted. I went that night to Flushing; and the next day, in company with my beloved friend Matthew Franklin, we crossed the ferry at White Stone;—were at three meetings on that side the water, and then returned to the island; where I spent the remainder of the week in visiting meetings. The Lord, I believe, hath a people in those parts, who are honestly concerned to serve him; but many, I fear, are too much clogged with the things of this life, and do not come forward bearing the cross in such faithfulness as the Almighty calls for.

My mind was deeply engaged in this visit, both in public and private; and at several places where I was, on observing that they had slaves, I found myself under a necessity, in a friendly way, to labour with them on that subject; expressing as way opened, the inconsistency of that practice with the purity of the christian religion, and the ill effects of it manifested amongst us.

The latter end of the week, their Yearly Meeting began; at which were our friends John Scarbrough,

Jane Hoskins, and Susannah Brown, from Pennsylvania: the public meetings were large, and measurably favoured with Divine goodness.

The exercise of my mind, at this meeting, was chiefly on account of those who were considered as the foremost rank in the society; and in a meeting of ministers and elders, way opened that I expressed in some measure what lay upon me. And at a time when Friends were met for transacting the affairs of the church, having sat a while silent, I felt a weight on my mind, and stood up; and through the gracious condescension of our heavenly Father, strength was given fully to clear my mind of a burden, which for some days had been increasing upon me.

Through the humbling dispensations of Divine Providence, men are sometimes fitted for his service.—The messages of the prophet Jeremiah were so disagreeable to the people, and so reverse to the spirit they lived in, that he became the object of their reproach; and in the weakness of nature, thought of desisting from his prophetic office; “but,” saith he, “His word was in my heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones; and I was weary with forbearing, and could not stay.” I saw at this time, that if I was honest in declaring that which Truth opened in me, I could not please all men; and laboured to be content in the way of my duty, however disagreeable to my own inclination.

After this I went homeward, taking Woodbridge and Plainfield in my way; in both which meetings, the pure influence of Divine love was manifested; in an humble sense whereof I went home;—having been out about twenty-four days, and rode about three hundred and sixteen miles.

While I was out on this journey, my heart was deeply affected with a sense of the state of the churches in our southern provinces; and believing the Lord was calling me to some further labour amongst them, I was bowed in reverence before him, with fervent desires that I might find strength to resign myself up to his heavenly will.

Until this year, 1756, I continued to retail goods, besides following my trade as a tailor; about which time, I grew uneasy on account of my business growing too cumbersome. I began with selling trimmings for garments, and from thence proceeded to sell cloths and linens; and at length, having got a considerable shop of goods, my trade increased every year, and the road to large business appeared open: but I felt a stop in my mind.

Through the mercies of the Almighty, I had in a good degree, learned to be content with a plain way of living. I had but a small family; and, on serious consideration, I believed Truth did not require me to engage in much cumbering affairs. It had generally been my practice to buy and sell things really useful: things that served chiefly to please the vain mind in people, I was not easy to trade in; seldom did it; and whenever I did, I found it weakened me as a christian.

The increase of business became my burden: for though my natural inclination was towards merchandize, yet I believed Truth required me to live more free from outward cumpers; and there was now a strife in my mind between the two: and in this exercise my prayers were put up to the Lord, who graciously heard me, and gave me a heart resigned to his holy will. I then lessened my outward business; and, as I had opportunity, told my customers of my intentions, that they might consider what shop to turn to: and in a while, I wholly laid down merchandize, following my trade as a tailor; myself only, having no apprentice. I also had a nursery of apple trees; in which I employed some of my time in hoeing, grafting, trimming, and inoculating.

In merchandize it is the custom, where I lived, to sell chiefly on credit, and poor people often get in debt; and when payment is expected, not having wherewith to pay, their creditors often sue for it at law. Having often observed occurrences of this kind, I found it good for me to advise poor people to take such goods as were most useful and not costly.

In the time of trading, I had an opportunity of seeing that the too liberal use of spirituous liquors, and the custom of wearing too costly apparel, led some people into great inconveniencies: and these two things appear to be often connected one with the other.— For, by not attending to that use of things which is consistent with universal righteousness, there is an increase of labour which extends beyond what our heavenly Father intends for us: and by great labour, and often by much sweating, there is, even among such who are not drunkards, a craving of some liquors to revive the spirits: that partly by the wanton, luxurious drinking of some, and partly by the drinking of others, (led to it through immoderate labour) very great quantities of rum are every year expended in our colonies; the greater part of which we should have no need of, did we steadily attend to pure wisdom.

Where men take pleasure in feeling their minds elevated with strong drink, and so indulge their appetite as to disorder their understandings, neglect their duty as members in a family or civil society, and cast off all regard to religion, their case is much to be pitied; and where such, whose lives are for the most part regular, and whose examples have a strong influence on the minds of others, adhere to some customs which powerfully draw toward the use of more strong liquor than pure wisdom allows; this also, as it hinders the spreading of the spirit of meekness, and strengthens the hands of the more excessive drinkers, is a case to be lamented.

As every degree of luxury hath some connexion with evil; so for those who profess to be disciples of Christ, and are looked upon as leaders of the people, to have that mind in them which was also in Him, and to stand separate from every wrong way, is a means of help to the weaker. As I have sometimes been much spent in the heat, and taking spirits to revive me, I have found by experience, that in such circumstances the mind is not so calm, nor so fitly disposed for divine meditation, as when all such ex-



tremes are avoided. And I have felt an increasing care to attend to that holy Spirit which sets right bounds to our desires; and leads those who faithfully follow it, to apply all the gifts of Divine Providence to the purposes for which they were intended. Did such who have the care of great estates, attend with singleness of heart to this heavenly Instructor, which so opens and enlarges the mind that men love their neighbours as themselves, they would have wisdom given them to manage, without finding occasion to employ some people in the luxuries of life, or to make it necessary for others to labour too hard: but for want of steadily regarding this principle of Divine love, a selfish spirit takes place in the minds of people, which is attended with darkness and manifold confusions in the world.

Though trading in things useful is an honest employ; yet through the great number of superfluities which are commonly bought and sold, and through the corruptions of the times, they who apply to merchandize for a living, have great need to be well experienced in that precept which the prophet Jeremiah laid down for his scribe: "Seekest thou great thing for thyself? seek them not."

In the winter, this year, I was engaged with Friends in visiting families: and through the goodness of the Lord, we had oftentimes experienced of his heart-tendering presence among us.

*A copy of a Letter to a Friend.*

In this thy late affliction, I have found a deep fellow-feeling with thee, and had a secret hope throughout, that it might please the Father of mercies to raise thee up, and sanctify thy troubles to thee; that thou, being more fully acquainted with that way which the world esteems foolish, may feel the clothing of Divine fortitude, and be strengthened to resist that spirit which leads from the simplicity of the everlasting Truth.

We may see ourselves crippled and halting, and from a strong bias to things pleasant and easy, find an impossibility to advance forward: but things impossible with men are possible with God; and our wills being made subject to his, all temptations are surmountable.

This work of subjecting the will, is compared to the mineral in the furnace; which through fervent heat, is reduced from its first principle. "He refines them as silver is refined—He shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver." By these comparisons, we are instructed in the necessity of the melting operation of the hand of God upon us, to prepare our hearts truly to adore him, and manifest that adoration, by inwardly turning away from that spirit in all its workings, which is not of him. To forward this work, the all-wise God is sometimes pleased, through outward distress, to bring us near the gates of death; that life being painful and afflicting, and the prospect of eternity open before us, all earthly bonds may be loosened, and the mind prepared for that deep and sacred instruction, which otherwise would not be received.

If kind parents love their children and delight in their happiness, then He, who is perfect goodness, in sending abroad mortal contagions, doth assuredly direct their use—Are the righteous removed by it? their change is happy: Are the wicked taken away in their wickedness? the Almighty is clear: Do we pass thro' with anguish and great bitterness, and yet recover? He intends that we should be purged from dross, and our ear opened to discipline.

And now on thy part, after thy sore affliction and doubts of recovery, thou art again restored,—forget not Him who hath helped thee; but in humble gratitude hold fast his instructions, thereby to shun those by-paths which lead from the firm foundation. I am sensible of that variety of company, to which one in thy business must be exposed. I have painfully felt the force of conversation proceeding from men deeply rooted in an earthly mind, and can sympathize

with others in such conflicts, in that much weakness still attends me.

I find that to be a fool as to worldly wisdom, and commit my cause to God, not fearing to offend men who take offence at the simplicity of Truth, is the only way to remain unmoved at the sentiments of others

The fear of man brings a snare: by halting in our duty, and giving back in the time of trial, our hands grow weaker, our spirits get mingled with the people, our ears grow dull as to hearing the language of the true Shepherd; so that when we look at the way of the righteous, it seems as though it was not for us to follow them.

There is a love clothes my mind while I write, which is superior to all expressions; and I find my heart open to encourage to a holy emulation to advance forward in christian firmness. Deep humility is a strong bulwark; and as we enter into it, we find safety and true exaltation: the foolishness of God is wiser than man, and the weakness of God is stronger than man. Being unclothed of our own wisdom, and knowing the abasement of the creature, therein we find that power to arise, which gives health and vigor to us.

JOHN WOOLMAN.

## CHAPTER IV.

His visiting the families of Friends at Burlington—His journey to Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina—Considerations on the state of Friends there; and the exercise he was under in travelling among those so generally concerned in keeping slaves: with some observations in conversation, at several times, on this subject—His epistle to Friends at New Garden and Cane Creek—His thoughts on the neglect of a religious care in the education of the negroes.

The 13th day of the 2d month, 1757, being then in good health, and abroad with Friends visiting families, I lodged at a friend's house, in Burlington: and going to bed about the time usual with me, I awoke in the night, and my meditations, as I lay, were on the goodness and mercy of the Lord; in a sense whereof my heart was contrite. After this I went to sleep again; and sleeping a short time, I awoke: it was yet dark, and no appearance of day nor moonshine; and as I opened mine eyes, I saw a light in my chamber at the apparent distance of five feet, about nine inches diameter, of a clear easy brightness; and near its centre the most radiant. As I lay still without any surprise looking upon it, words were spoken to my inward ear, which filled my whole inward man: they were not the effect of thought, nor any conclusion in relation to the appearance, but as the language of the Holy One spoke in my mind: the words were, *Certain Evidence of Divine Truth*; and were again repeated exactly in the same manner; whereupon the light disappeared.

Feeling the exercise in relation to a visit to the southern provinces to increase upon me, I acquainted our monthly meeting therewith, and obtained their certificate: expecting to go alone, one of my brothers, who lived in Philadelphia, having some business in North Carolina, proposed going with me part of the way; but as he had a view of some outward affairs, to

accept of him as a companion seemed some difficulty with me; whereupon I had conversation with him at sundry times: and at length, feeling easy in my mind, I had conversation with several elderly Friends of Philadelphia on the subject; and he obtaining a certificate suitable to the occasion, we set off in the 5th month, 1757; and coming to Nottingham week-day meeting, lodged at John Churchman's: and here I met with our friend Benj. Buffington, from New England, who was returning from a visit to the southern provinces. Thence we crossed the river Susquehannah, and lodged at William Cox's in Maryland: and soon after I entered this province, a deep and painful exercise came upon me, which I had often had some feeling of since my mind was drawn toward these parts, and with which I acquainted my brother before we agreed to join as companions.

As the people in this and the southern provinces, live much on the labour of slaves, many of whom are used hardly,—my concern was, that I might attend with singleness of heart to the voice of the true Shepherd, and be so supported as to remain unmoved at the faces of men.

As it is common for Friends on such a visit to have entertainment free of cost, a difficulty arose in my mind with respect to saving my money by kindness received, which to me appeared to be the gain of oppression.

Receiving a gift, considered as a gift, brings the receiver under obligations to the benefactor, and has a natural tendency to draw the obliged into a party with the giver. To prevent difficulties of this kind, and to preserve the minds of judges from any bias, was that Divine prohibition; "Thou shalt not receive any gift: for a gift blindeth the wife, and perverteth the words of the righteous." Exod. xxiii. 8. As the disciples were sent forth without any provision for their journey, and our blessed Lord said, the workman is worthy of his meat,—their labour in the gospel was considered as a reward for their entertainment,

and therefore not received as a gift: yet, in regard to my present journey, I could not see my way clear in that respect; the difference appeared thus: The entertainment the disciples met with, was from such whose hearts God had opened to receive them, from a love to them, and the truth they published: but we, considered as members of the same religious society, look upon it as a piece of civility to receive each other in such visits; and such reception, at times, is partly in regard to reputation, and not from an inward unity of heart and spirit.

Conduct is more convincing than language; and where people, by their actions, manifest that the slave-trade is not so disagreeable to their principles but that it may be encouraged, there in not a sound uniting with some Friends who visit them.

The prospect of so weighty a work, and being so distinguished from many who I esteemed before myself, brought me very low; and such were the conflicts of my soul, that I had a near sympathy with the prophet in the time of his weakness, when he said, "If thou deal thus with me, kill me, I pray thee, if I have found favour in thy sight." But I soon saw that this proceeded from the want of a full resignation to the Divine will. Many were the afflictions which attended me; and in great abasement, with many tears, my cries were to the Almighty for his gracious and fatherly assistance: and then, after a time of deep trial, I was favoured to understand the state mentioned by the psalmist more clearly than ever I had before; to wit: "My soul is even as a weaned child."

Being thus helped to sink down into resignation, I felt a deliverance from that tempest in which I had been sorely exercised, and in calmness of mind went forward; trusting that the Lord, as I faithfully attended to him, would be a counsellor to me in all difficulties; and that by his strength I should be enabled even to leave money with the members of society where I had entertainment, when I found that omitting of it would obstruct that work to which I believed he had

called me. And as I copy this after my return, I may here add, that oftentimes I did so, under a sense of duty. The way in which I did it was thus: when I expected soon to leave a Friend's house where I had entertainment, if I believed that I should not keep clear from the gain of oppression without leaving money, I spoke to one of the heads of the family privately, and desired them to accept of them pieces of silver, and give them to such of their negroes as they believed would make the best use of them; and at other times, I gave them to the negroes myself, as the way looked clearest to me. As I expected this before I came out, I had provided a large number of small pieces: and thus offering them to some who appeared to be wealthy people, was a trial both to me and them: but the fear of the Lord so covered me at times, that my way was made easier than I expected; and few, if any, manifested any resentment at the offer, and most of them, after some talk, accepted of them.

The 7th day of the 5th month, 1757, lodged at a Friend's house: and the next day, being first of the week, was at Patapsco meeting; then crossed Patuxent river, and lodged at a public house. 9th. Breakfasted at a Friend's house; who afterwards, putting us a little on our way, I had conversation with him, in the fear of the Lord, concerning his slaves; in which my heart was tender, and I used much plainness of speech with him, which he appeared to take kindly. We pursued our journey without appointing meetings, being pressed in my mind to be at the Yearly Meeting in Virginia: and in my travelling on the road, I often felt a language rise from the centre of my mind, thus: O Lord, I am a stranger in the earth, hide not thy face from me.

On the 11th, we crossed the rivers Potomac and Rappahannock, and lodged at Port Royal; and on the way, we happening in company with a colonel of the militia, who appeared to be a thoughtful man, I took occasion to remark on the difference in general betwixt a people used to labour moderately for their

living, training up their children in frugality and business, and those who live on the labour of slaves; the former in my view, being the most happy life: with which he concurred, and mentioned the trouble arising from the untoward, slothful disposition of the negroes; adding, that one of our labourers would do as much in a day as two of their slaves. I replied, that free men whose minds were properly on their business, found a satisfaction in improving, cultivating, and providing for their families; but negroes, labouring to support others who claim them as their property, and expecting nothing but slavery during life, had not the like inducement to be industrious. After some further conversation, I said, that men having power, too often misapplied it;—that though we made slaves of the negroes, and the Turks made slaves of the christians, I however believed that liberty was the natural right of all men equally: which he did not deny; but said, the lives of the negroes were so wretched in their own country, that many of them lived better here than there. I only said, there is great odds in regard to us, on what principle we act; and so the conversation on that subject ended.

I may here add, that another person, some time afterward, mentioned the wretchedness of the negroes, occasioned by their intestine wars, as an argument in favour of our fetching them away for slaves. To which I then replied, If compassion on the Africans, in regard to their domestic troubles, were the real motives of our purchasing them, that spirit of sympathy being attended to, would incite us to use them kindly; that as strangers brought out of affliction, their lives might be happy among us; and as they are human creatures, whose souls are as precious as ours, and who may receive the same help and comfort from the holy scriptures as we do, we could not omit suitable endeavours to instruct them therein. But while we manifest by our conduct, that our views in purchasing them are to advance ourselves; and while our buying captives taken in war, animates those parties



to push on that war, and increase desolation amongst them; to say they lived unhappy in Africa, is far from being an argument in our favour. And I further said, The present circumstances of these provinces to me appear difficult;—that the slaves look like a burdensome stone to such who burden themselves with them; and that, if the white people retain a resolution to prefer their outward prospects of gain to all other considerations, and do not act conscientiously toward them as fellow-creatures, I believe that burden will grow heavier and heavier, till times change in a way disagreeable to us. At which the person appeared very serious; and acknowledged, that in considering their condition, and the manner of their treatment in these provinces, he had sometimes thought it might be just in the Almighty so to order it.

Having thus travelled through Maryland, we came among Friends at Cedar Creek in Virginia, on the 12th day of the 5th month; and the next day rode, in company with several friends, a day's journey to Camp Creek. And as I was riding along in the morning, my mind was deeply affected in a sense I had of the want of Divine aid to support me in the various difficulties which attended me; and in an uncommon distress of mind, I cried in secret to the Most High, O Lord! be merciful, I beseech thee, to thy poor afflicted creature. After some time, I felt inward relief; and soon after, a Friend in company began to talk in support of the slave-trade, and said the negroes were understood to be the offspring of Cain, their blackness being the mark God set upon him after he murdered Abel his brother;—and that it was the design of Providence they should be slaves, as a condition proper to the race of so wicked a man as Cain was. Then another spake in support of what had been said. To all which, I replied in substance as follows: That Noah and his family were all who survived the flood, according to scripture; and as Noah was of Seth's race, the family of Cain was wholly destroyed. One of them said, that after the

flood Ham went to the land of Nod, and took a wife;— that Nod was a land far distant, inhabited by Cain's race; and that the flood did not reach it; and as Ham was sentenced to be a servant of servants to his brethren, these two families being thus joined, were undoubtedly fit only for slaves. I replied, The flood was a judgment upon the world for their abominations; and it was granted that Cain's stock was the most wicked, and therefore unreasonable to suppose they were spared. As to Ham's going to the land of Nod for a wife, no time being fixed, Nod might be inhabited by some of Noah's family, before Ham married a second time. Moreover the text saith, that "all flesh died that moved upon the earth." I further reminded them, how the prophets repeatedly declared "that the son shall not suffer for the iniquity of the father; but every one be answerable for his own sins." I was troubled to perceive the darkness of their imaginations; and in some pressure of spirit said, The love of ease and gain are the motives in general of keeping slaves, and men are wont to take hold of weak arguments to support a cause which is unreasonable: and added, I have no interest on either side, save only the interest which I desire to have in the Truth: and as I believe liberty is their right, and see they are not only deprived of it, but treated in other respects with inhumanity in many places, I believe He, who is a refuge for the oppressed, will in his own time plead their cause; and happy will it be for such who walk in uprightness before him: and thus our conversation ended.

On the 14th of the 5th month, I was at Camp Creek monthly meeting; and then rode to the mountains up James' river, and had a meeting at a friend's house: in both which I felt sorrow of heart, and my tears were poured out before the Lord, who was pleased to afford a degree of strength by which way was opened to clear my mind amongst Friends in those places. From thence I went to Fork Creek, and so to Cedar Creek again; at which place I now had a meeting.

Here I found a tender seed: and as I was preserved in the ministry to keep low with the truth, the same truth in their hearts answered it; so that it was a time of mutual refreshment from the presence of the Lord. I lodged at James Standley's, father of William Standley, one of the young men who suffered imprisonment at Winchester last summer, on account of their testimony against fighting; and I had some satisfactory conversation with him concerning it. Hence I went to the Swamp meeting, and to Wayneoke meeting; and then crossed James' river, and lodged near Burleigh.

From the time of my entering Maryland I have been much under sorrow, which of late so increased upon me, that my mind was almost overwhelmed; and I may say with the psalmist, "In my distress I called upon the Lord, and cried unto my God;" who, in infinite goodness, looked upon my affliction, and in my private retirement sent the Comforter for my relief; for which I humbly bless his holy name.

The sense I had of the state of the churches, brought a weight of distress upon me: the gold to me appeared dim, and the fine gold changed. And though this is the case too generally, yet the sense of it in these parts hath, in a particular manner, borne heavy upon me. It appeared to me, that through the prevailing of the spirit of this world, the minds of many were brought to an inward desolation; and instead of the spirit of meekness, gentleness, and heavenly wisdom, which are the necessary companions of the true sheep of Christ, a spirit of fierceness, and the love of dominion, too generally prevailed.

From small beginnings in errors, great buildings, by degrees, are raised; and from one age to another, are more and more strengthened by the general concurrence of the people: and as men of reputation depart from the truth, their examples are mentioned as arguments in favour of general error; and those of less note, to justify themselves, say, such and such good men did the like. By what other steps could the people of Judah have arisen to that height in wicked-

ness, as to give just ground for the prophet Isaiah to declare in the name of the Lord, "that *none* calleth for justice, nor *any* pleadeth for truth:" or for the Almighty to call upon the great city of Jerusalem, just before the Babylonish captivity, "If ye can find a man, if there be any who executeth judgment, that seeketh the truth, and I will pardon it." The prospect of a road lying open to the same degeneracy, in some parts of this newly settled land of America, in respect to our conduct toward the negroes, hath deeply bowed my mind in this journey; and though to briefly relate how these people are treated is no agreeable work; yet, after often reading over the notes I made as I travelled, I find my mind engaged to preserve them.

Many of the white people in those provinces, take little or no care of negro marriages; and when negroes marry after their own way, some make so little account of those marriages, that with views of outward interest, they often part men from their wives by selling them far asunder; which is common when estates are sold by executors at vendue. Many whose labour is heavy, being followed, at their business in the field, by a man with a whip, hired for that purpose, have in common little else allowed but one peck of Indian corn and some salt for one week, with a few potatoes; the potatoes they commonly raise by their labour on the first day of the week. The correction ensuing on their disobedience to overseers, or slothfulness in business, is often very severe, and sometimes desperate.

Men and women have many times scarce clothes enough to hide their nakedness; and boys and girls, ten and twelve years old, are often quite naked amongst their master's children. Some of our society, and some of the society called New Lights, use some endeavours to instruct those they have in reading; but in common this is not only neglected, but disapproved.

These are a people, by whose labour the other inhabitants are in a great measure supported, and many

of them in the luxuries of life:—these are a people who have made no agreement to serve us, and who have not forfeited their liberty that we know of:—these are souls for whom Christ gave his life; and for our conduct toward them, we must answer before that Almighty Being who is no respecter of persons.

They who know the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, and are thus acquainted with the merciful, benevolent, gospel spirit, will therein perceive that the indignation of God is kindled against oppression and cruelty; and in beholding the great distress of so numerous a people, will find cause for mourning.

From my lodgings, I went to Burleigh meeting, where I felt my mind drawn into a quiet resigned state; and after long silence, I felt an engagement to stand up, and through the powerful operation of Divine love, we were favoured with an edifying meeting. The next meeting we had was at Black Water; and so to the Yearly Meeting at the Western Branch. When business began, some queries were produced by some of their members, to be now considered, and if approved, to be answered hereafter by their respective monthly meetings. They were the Pennsylvania queries, which had been examined by a committee of Virginia Yearly Meeting appointed the last year, who made some alterations in them: one of which alterations was made in favour of a custom which troubled me. The query was, “Are there any concerned in the importation of negroes, or buying them after imported?” which they altered thus: “Are there any concerned in the importation of negroes, or buying them to trade in?” As one query admitted with unanimity was, “Are any concerned in buying or vending goods unlawfully imported, or prize goods?” I found my mind engaged to say, that as we professed the Truth, and were there assembled to support the testimony of it, it was necessary for us to dwell deep, and act in that wisdom which is pure, or otherwise we could not prosper. I then mention-

ed their alteration; and referring to the last mentioned query, added, As purchasing any merchandize taken by the sword, was always allowed to be inconsistent with our principles;—negroes being captives of war, or taken by stealth, those circumstances make it inconsistent with our testimony to buy them; and their being our fellow-creatures, who are sold as slaves, adds greatly to the iniquity. Friends appeared attentive to what was said; some expressed a care and concern about their negroes; and none made any objection, by way of reply to what I said; but the query was admitted as they had altered it.

As some of their members have heretofore traded in negroes, as in other merchandize, this query, being admitted, will be one step further than they have hitherto gone; and I did not see it my duty to press for an alteration; but felt easy to leave it all to Him, who alone is able to turn the hearts of the mighty, and make way for the spreading of Truth in the earth, by means agreeable to his infinite wisdom. But in regard to those they already had, I felt my mind engaged to labour with them; and said, that as we believe the scriptures were given forth by holy men, as they were moved by the holy Spirit, and many of us know by experience that they are often helpful and comfortable, and believe ourselves bound in duty to teach our children to read them, I believe, that if we were divested of all selfish views, the same good spirit that gave them forth, would engage us to teach the negroes to read, that they might have the benefit of them. Some there were amongst them who, at this time, manifested a concern in regard to taking more care in the education of their negroes.

On the 29th of the 5th month, and first of the week, in the house where I lodged, was a meeting of ministers and elders, at the ninth hour in the morning; at which meeting I found an engagement to speak freely and plainly to them concerning their slaves; mentioning how they, as the first rank in the society, whose conduct in that case was much noticed by

others, were under the stronger obligations to look carefully to themselves: expressing how needful it was for them, in that situation, to be thoroughly divested of selfish views; so that living in the pure Truth, and acting conscientiously toward those people, in their education and otherwise,—they might be instrumental in helping forward a work so exceedingly necessary, and so much neglected amongst them. At the twelfth hour the meeting of worship began; which was a solid meeting.

On the 30th, about the tenth hour, Friends met to finish their business, and then the meeting for worship ensued, which to me was a laborious time; but, thro' the goodness of the Lord, Truth, I believe, gained some ground; and it was a strengthening opportunity to the honest-hearted.

About this time I wrote an epistle to Friends in the back settlements of North Carolina, as follows:

*To Friends at their monthly meeting at New Garden and Cane Creek, in North Carolina.*

DEAR FRIENDS,—

It having pleased the Lord to draw me forth on a visit to some parts of Virginia and Carolina, you have often been in my mind; and though my way is not clear to come in person to visit you, yet I feel it in my heart to communicate a few things, as they arise in the love of truth.

First, my dear friends, dwell in humility; and take heed that no views of outward gain get too deep hold of you, that so your eyes being single to the Lord, you may be preserved in the way of safety. Where people let loose their minds after the love of outward things, and are more engaged in pursuing the profits, and seeking the friendships of this world, than to be inwardly acquainted with the way of true peace; such walk in a vain shadow, while the true comfort of life is wanting: their examples are often hurtful to others;

and their treasures, thus collected, do many times prove dangerous snares to their children.

But where people are sincerely devoted to follow Christ, and dwell under the influence of the Holy Spirit, their stability and firmness, through the Divine blessing, is at times like dew on the tender plants round about them, and the weightiness of their spirits secretly works on the minds of others; and in this condition, through the spreading influence of Divine love, they feel a care over the flock; and way is open for maintaining good order in the society. And tho' we meet with opposition from another spirit, yet, as there is a dwelling in meekness, feeling our spirits subject, and moving only in the gentle peaceable wisdom, the inward reward of quietness will be greater than all our difficulties. Where the pure life is kept to, and meetings of discipline are held in the authority of it, we find by experience that they are comfortable, and tend to the health of the body.

While I write, the youth comes fresh in my way:— Dear young people, choose God for your portion; love his truth, and be not ashamed of it; choose for your company such who serve him in uprightness; and shun, as most dangerous, the conversation of those whose lives are of an ill favour; for by frequenting such company, some hopeful young people have come to great loss, and been drawn from less evils to greater to their utter ruin. In the bloom of youth no ornament is so lovely as that of virtue, nor any enjoyments equal to those which we partake of, in fully resigning ourselves to the Divine will. These enjoyments add sweetness to all other comforts, and give true satisfaction in company and conversation, where people are mutually acquainted with it: and as your minds are thus seasoned with the truth, you will find strength to abide steadfast to the testimony of it, and be prepared for services in the church.

And now, dear friends and brethren, as you are improving a wilderness, and may be numbered amongst the first planters in one part of a province, I beseech



you, in the love of Jesus Christ, wisely to consider the force of your examples, and think how much your successors may be thereby affected. It is a help in a country; yea, a great favour and a blessing, when customs first settled, are agreeable to sound wisdom: so, when they are otherwise, the effect of them is grievous; and children feel themselves encompassed with difficulties prepared for them by their predecessors.

As moderate care and exercise, under the direction of pure wisdom, is useful both to mind and body; so by this means in general, the real wants of life are easily supplied: our gracious Father having so proportioned one to the other, that keeping in the true medium we may pass on quietly. Where slaves are purchased to do our labour, numerous difficulties attend it. To rational creatures bondage is uneasy, and frequently occasions sourness and discontent in them; which affects the family, and such who claim the mastery over them: and thus people and their children are many times encompassed with vexations, which arise from their applying to wrong methods to get a living.

I have been informed that there are a large number of Friends in your parts, who have no slaves; and in tender and most affectionate love, I beseech you not to purchase any. Look, my dear friends, to Divine Providence; and follow in simplicity that exercise of body, that plainness and frugality, which true wisdom leads to; so may you be preserved from those dangers which attend such who are aiming at outward ease and greatness.

Treasures, though small, attained on a true principle of virtue, are sweet in the possession; and while we walk in the light of the Lord, there is true comfort and satisfaction. Here neither the murmurs of an oppressed people, nor throbbing uneasy conscience, nor anxious thoughts about the events of things, hinder the enjoyment of it.

When we look toward the end of life, and think on the division of our substance among our successors; if

we know that it was collected in the fear of the Lord, in honesty, in equity, and in uprightness of heart before him, we may consider it as his gift to us; and with a single eye to his blessing, bestow it on those we leave behind us. Such is the happiness of the plain ways of true virtue. "The work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance for ever." Isa. xxxii. 17.

Dwell here, my dear friends; and then in remote and solitary deserts, you may find true peace and satisfaction. If the Lord be our God, in truth and reality, there is safety for us; for he is a strong hold in the day of trouble, and knoweth them that trust in him.

I am in true love, your friend,

JOHN WOOLMAN.

Isle of Wight county, in Virginia,  
29th of the 5th month, 1757.

From the Yearly Meeting in Virginia, I went to Carolina; and on the 1st of the 6th month, was at Wells monthly meeting, where the spring of the gospel ministry was opened, and the love of God experienced amongst us: to his name be the praise.

Here my brother joined with some Friends from New Garden, who were going homeward; and I went next to Simons Creek monthly meeting, where I was silent during the meeting for worship: and when business came on, my mind was deeply exercised concerning the poor slaves; but did not feel my way clear to speak. In this condition I was bowed in spirit before the Lord; and with tears and inward supplication besought him, so to open my understanding, that I might know his will concerning me; and at length, my mind was settled in silence. Near the end of their business, a member of their meeting expressed a concern that had some time lain upon him, on account of Friends so much neglecting their duty in the education of their negroes; and proposed having meetings sometimes appointed for them on a week-day, to be only attended by some Friends to be named by their monthly meet-

ings. Many present appeared to unite with the proposal,—one said he had often wondered that they, being our fellow-creatures and capable of religious understanding, had been so exceedingly neglected. Another expressed the like concern, and appeared zealous that Friends, in future, might more closely consider the matter. At length a minute was made; and the further consideration of it referred to their next monthly meeting. The Friend who made this proposal hath negroes: he told me that he was at New Garden, about two hundred and fifty miles from home, and came back alone; and that in this solitary journey, this exercise, in regard to the education of their negroes, was from time to time, renewed in his mind. A Friend of some note in Virginia, who had slaves, told me that he being far from home on a lonesome journey, had many serious thoughts about them; and then believed that he saw a time coming, when Divine Providence would alter the circumstance of these people, respecting their condition as slaves.

From hence I went to New-begun Creek, and sat a considerable time in much weakness; till at length I felt truth open the way to speak a little in much plainness and simplicity, and through the increase of Divine love amongst us, we had a seasoning opportunity. From thence to the head of Little River on a first-day, where was a crowded meeting; and I believe it was, through Divine goodness, made profitable to some. Thence to the Old Neck; where I was led into a careful searching out of the secret workings of the mystery of iniquity, which, under a cover of religion, exalts itself against that pure spirit which leads in the way of meekness and self-denial. From thence to Piney Woods: this was the last meeting I was at in Carolina, and was large; and my heart being deeply engaged, I was drawn forth into a fervent labour amongst them.

When I was at New-begun Creek, a Friend was there who laboured for his living, having no negroes, and had been a minister many years: he came to me

the next day; and as we rode together, he signified that he wanted to talk with me concerning a difficulty he had been under; and related it nearly as follows: to wit, That as monies had of late years been raised by a tax to carry on the wars, he had a scruple in his mind in regard to paying it, and chose rather to suffer distraint of his goods than pay it: and as he was the only person who refused it in those parts, and knew not that any one else was in the like circumstances, and signified that it had been a heavy trial to him; and more so, for that some of his brethren had been uneasy with his conduct in that case; and added, that from a sympathy he felt with me yesterday in meeting, he found the freedom thus to open the matter, in the way of query concerning Friends in our parts. — Whereupon I told him the state of Friends amongst us, as well as I was able; and also, that I had, for some time, been under the like scruple. I believed him to be one who was concerned to walk uprightly before the Lord; and esteemed it my duty to preserve this note concerning him, Samuel Newby.

From hence I went back into Virginia, and had a meeting near James Cowpland's; it was a time of inward suffering; but through the goodness of the Lord, I was made content: then to another meeting; where, through the renewings of pure love, we had a very comfortable season.

Travelling up and down of late, I have had renewed evidences, that to be faithful to the Lord, and content with his will concerning me, is a most necessary and useful lesson for me to be learning; looking less at the effects of my labour, than at the pure motion and reality of the concern, as it arises from heavenly love. In the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength; and as the mind, by a humble resignation, is united to him, and we utter words from an inward knowledge that they arise from the heavenly spring, though our way may be difficult, and require close attention to keep in it; and though the manner in which we are led may tend to our own abasement; yet, if we con-

tinue in patience and meekness, heavenly peace is the reward of our labours.

From thence I went to Curles meeting; which, tho' small, was reviving to the honest-hearted. Thence to Black Creek and Caroline meetings; from whence, accompanied by William Standley, before-mentioned, we rode to Goose Creek, being much through the woods, and about one hundred miles.—We lodged the first night at a public house; the second, in the woods; and the next day we reached a friend's house at Goose Creek. In the woods we lay under some disadvantage, having no fireworks, nor bells for our horses: but we stopped a little before night and let them feed on the wild grass which was plenty; in the mean time cutting with our knives a store against night, and then tied them; and gathering some bushes under an oak, we lay down; but the musquetoës being plenty and the ground damp; I slept but little.

Thus lying in the wilderness, and looking at the stars, I was led to contemplate on the condition of our first parents, when they were sent forth from the garden. But the Almighty Being, though they had been disobedient, was a father to them; and way opened in process of time for all the conveniences of life. And he who by the gracious influence of his Spirit, illuminated their understanding, and showed them what was acceptable to Him, and tended to their true felicity as intelligent creatures, did also provide means for their happy living in this world, as they attended to the manifestations of his wisdom.

To provide things relative to our outward living, in the way of true wisdom, is good; and the gift of improving in things useful, is a good gift, and comes from the Father of lights. Many have had this gift; and, from age to age, there have been improvements of this kind made in the world. But some, not keeping to the pure gift, have, in the creaturely cunning and self-exaltation, sought out many inventions; which inventions of men, have been, and are distinct from that uprightness in which man was created: and as

the first motion of the departure from the pure gift, was evil, so the effects of it have been, and are evil. So that, at this day, it is as necessary for us constantly to attend on the heavenly gift, to be qualified to use rightly the good things in this life, amidst great improvements, as it was for our first parents, when they were without any improvements, without any friend or any father but God only.

I was at a meeting at Goose Creek; and next at a monthly meeting at Fairfax; where, through the gracious dealings of the Almighty with us, his power prevailed over many hearts. Thence to Manocquacy and Pipe Creek, in Maryland; at both which places I had cause humbly to adore Him who supported me through many exercises, and by whose help I was enabled to reach the true witness in the hearts of others: there were some hopeful young people in those parts. Thence I had meetings at John Everit's, at Monallen, and at Huntington; and I was made humbly thankful to the Lord, who opened my heart amongst the people in these new settlements, so that it was a time of encouragement to the honest-minded.

At Monallen, a Friend gave me some account of a religious society among the Dutch, called Mennonists; and amongst other things, related a passage in substance as follows:—One of the Mennonists having acquaintance with a man of another society at a considerable distance, and being with his wagon on business near the house of his said acquaintance, and night coming on he had thoughts of putting up with him: but passing by his fields, and observing the distressed appearance of his slaves, he kindled a fire in the woods hard by, and lay there that night. His said acquaintance hearing where he lodged, and afterward meeting the Mennonist, told him of it; adding, he should have been heartily welcome at his house; and from their acquaintance in former time, wondered at his conduct in that case. The Mennonist replied; “Ever since I lodged by thy field, I have wanted an opportunity to speak with thee: the matter was, I intended

to have come to thy house for entertainment; but seeing thy slaves at their work, and observing the manner of their dress, I had no liking to come to partake with thee." He then admonished him to use them with more humanity; and added, "As I lay by the fire that night, I thought that as I was a man of substance thou would have received me freely; but if I had been as poor as one of thy slaves, and had no power to help myself, I should have received from thy hand no kinder usage than they have."

Hence I was at three meetings on my way; and so went home, under a humbling sense of the gracious dealings of the Lord with me, in preserving me thro' many trials and afflictions in my journey. I was out about two months, and travelled about eleven hundred and fifty miles.

## CHAPTER V.

Considerations on the payment of a tax, laid for carrying on the war against the Indians—Some notes on Thomas a Kempis and John Huss—Meetings of the committee of the Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia—The present circumstances of Friends in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, very different from those of our predecessors—The draughting of the militia in New Jersey to serve in the army; with some observations on the state of the members of our society at that time—His visit to Friends in Pennsylvania, accompanied by Benjamin Jones—Proceedings at the Monthly, Quarterly and Yearly Meetings, in Philadelphia, respecting those who keep slaves.

A few years past, money being made current in our province for carrying on wars, and to be called in again by taxes laid on the inhabitants,—my mind was often affected with the thoughts of paying such taxes; and I believe it right for me to preserve a memorandum concerning it. I was told that Friends in England frequently paid taxes when the money was applied to such purposes. I had conversation with several noted Friends on the subject, who all favoured the payment of such taxes; some of whom I preferred before myself, and this made me easier for a time: yet there was in the deeps of my mind, a scruple which I never could get over; and, at certain times, I was greatly distressed on that account.

I all along believed that there were some upright-hearted men who paid such taxes; but could not see that their example was a sufficient reason for me to do so, while I believed that the spirit of Truth required of me, as an individual, to suffer patiently the distress of goods, rather than pay actively.

I have been informed that Thomas a Kempis lived and died in the profession of the Roman Catholic religion: and in reading his writings, I have believed him to be a man of a true christian spirit; as fully so as many who died martyrs because they could not join with some superstitions in that church.



All true christians are of the same spirit, but their gifts are diverse; Christ appointing to each one their peculiar office, agreeable to his infinite wisdom.

John Huss contended against the errors crept into the church, in opposition to the Council of Constance; which the historian reports to have consisted of many thousand persons. He modestly vindicated the cause which he believed was right: and though his language and conduct toward his judges appear to have been respectful, yet he never could be moved from the principles settled in his mind. To use his own words: "This I most humbly require and desire of you all, even for His sake who is the God of us all, that I be not compelled to the thing which my conscience doth repugn or strive against." And again, in his answer to the emperor: "I refuse nothing, most noble emperor, whatsoever the council shall decree or determine upon me, only this one thing I except, that I do not offend God and my conscience." Fox's Acts and Monuments, page 233. At length, rather than act contrary to that which he believed the Lord required of him, he chose to suffer death by fire.— Thomas a Kempis, without disputing against the articles then generally agreed to, appears to have laboured, by a pious example as well as by preaching and writing, to promote virtue and the inward spiritual religion: and I believe they were both sincere-hearted followers of Christ.

True charity is an excellent virtue: and sincerely to labour for their good, whose belief, in all points, doth not agree with ours, is a happy state. To refuse the active payment of a tax which our society generally paid, was exceeding disagreeable; but to do a thing contrary to my conscience, appeared yet more dreadful. When this exercise came upon me, I knew of none under the like difficulty; and, in my distress, I besought the Lord to enable me to give up all, that so I might follow him wheresoever he was pleased to lead me: and under this exercise, I went to our Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia, in the year 1755; at which

a committee was appointed of some from each quarter, to correspond with the meeting for sufferings in London, and another to visit our monthly and Quarterly meetings; and after their appointment, before the last adjournment of the meeting, it was agreed in the meeting that these two committees should meet together in Friends' school house in the city, at a time then concluded on, to consider some things in which the cause of Truth was concerned. And these committees meeting together, had a weighty conference in the fear of the Lord; at which time I perceived there were many Friends under a scruple like that before mentioned.

As scrupling to pay a tax on account of the application,\* hath seldom been heard of heretofore, even amongst men of integrity, who have steadily borne their testimony against outward wars in their time; I may here note some things which have opened on my mind, as I have been inwardly exercised on that account.

From the steady opposition which faithful Friends, in early times, made to wrong things then approved of, they were hated and persecuted by men living in the spirit of this world; and, suffering with firmness, they were made a blessing to the church, and the work prospered. It equally concerns men, in every age, to take heed to their own spirit: and in comparing their situation with ours, it looks to me there was less danger of their being infected with the spirit of this world, in paying their taxes, than there is of us now. They had little or no share in civil government neither legislative nor executive; and many of them declared they were, through the power of God, separated from the spirit in which wars were; and being afflicted by the rulers on account of their testimony, there was less likelihood of uniting in spirit with them in things inconsistent with the purity of

\* Christians refused to pay taxes to support heathen temples. See Primitive Christianity, part iii. page 327.

Truth. We, from the first settlement of this land, have known little or no troubles of that sort. Their profession, for a time, was accounted reproachful; but at length, the uprightness of our predecessors being understood by the rulers, and their innocent sufferings moving them, our way of worship was tolerated; and many of our members in these colonies became active in civil government. Being thus tried with favour and prosperity, this world hath appeared inviting; our minds have been turned to the improvement of our country, to merchandize and sciences; amongst which are many things useful, being followed in pure wisdom; but, in our present condition, that a carnal mind is gaining upon us, I believe will not be denied.

Some of our members who are officers in civil government, are, in one case or other, called upon in their respective stations to assist in things relative to the wars; such being in doubt whether to act, or crave to be excused from their office, seeing their brethren united in the payment of a tax to carry on the said wars, might think their case not much different, and so quench the tender movings of the Holy Spirit in their minds; and thus, by small degrees, there might be an approach toward that of fighting, till we came so near it, as that the distinction would be little else but the name of a peaceable people.

It requires great self-denial and resignation of ourselves to God, to attain that state wherein we can freely cease from fighting when wrongfully invaded; if, by our fighting, there were a probability of overcoming the invaders. Whoever rightly attains to it, does, in some degree, feel that spirit in which our Redeemer gave his life for us: and, through Divine goodness, many of our predecessors, and many now living, have learned this blessed lesson; but many others, having their religion chiefly by education, and not being enough acquainted with that cross which crucifies to the world, do manifest a temper distinguishable from that of an entire trust in God.

In calmly considering these things, it hath not appeared strange to me, that an exercise hath now fallen upon some, which, as to the outward means of it, is different from what was known to many of those who went before us.

Some time after the Yearly Meeting, a day being appointed, and letters wrote to distant members, the said committees met at Philadelphia; and by adjournments, continued several days. The calamities of war were now increasing; the frontier inhabitants of Pennsylvania were frequently surprised, some slain, and many taken captive by the Indians: and while these committees sat, the corpse of one so slain was brought in a wagon, and taken through the streets of the city, in his bloody garments, to alarm the people, and rouse them up to war.

Friends thus met were not all of one mind in relation to the tax; which, to such who scrupled it, made the way more difficult. To refuse an active payment at such a time, might be construed an act of disloyalty, and appeared likely to displease the rulers, not only here but in England; still there was a scruple so fastened upon the minds of many Friends, that nothing moved it. It was a conference the most weighty that ever I was at; and the hearts of many were bowed in reverence before the Most High. Some Friends of the said committees who appeared easy to pay the tax, after several adjournments, withdrew; others of them continued till the last. At length, an epistle of tender love and caution to Friends in Pennsylvania, was drawn by some Friends concerned on that account; which being read several times and corrected, was then signed by such of them as were free to sign it, and afterward sent to the monthly and Quarterly meetings.

On the 9th day of the 5th month, 1757, at night, orders came to the military officers in our county, (Burlington) directing them to draft the militia, and prepare a number of men to go off as soldiers, to the relief of the English at Fort William Henry, in New

York government: a few days after which, there was a general review of the militia at Mount Holly, and a number of men chosen and sent off under some officers. Shortly after, there came orders to draught three times as many, to hold themselves in readiness to march when fresh orders came: and on the 17th day of the 8th month, there was a meeting of the military officers at Mount Holly, who agreed on a draught; and orders were sent to the men so chosen, to meet their respective captains at set times and places; those in our township to meet at Mount Holly; amongst whom were a considerable number of our society.

My mind being affected herewith, I had fresh opportunity to see and consider the advantage of living in the real substance of religion, where practice doth harmonize with principle. Amongst the officers are men of understanding, who have some regard to sincerity where they see it: and in the execution of their office, when they have men to deal with whom they believe to be upright-hearted, to put them to trouble on account of scruples of conscience, is a painful task, and likely to be avoided as much as easily may be: but where men profess to be so meek and heavenly-minded, and to have their trust so firmly settled in God, that they cannot join in wars; and yet, by their spirit and conduct in common life, manifest a contrary disposition, their difficulties are great at such a time. Officers in great anxiety endeavouring to get troops to answer the demands of their superiors, seeing men who are insincere, pretend scruple of conscience, in hopes of being excused from a dangerous employment, they are likely to be roughly handled.

In this time of commotion, some of our young men left the parts, and tarried abroad till it was over; some came and proposed to go as soldiers; others appeared to have a real tender scruple in their minds against joining in wars, and were much humbled under the apprehension of a trial so near: I had conversation with several of them to my satisfaction. At the set

time when the captain came to town, some of those last mentioned went and told him in substance as follows:—That they could not bear arms for conscience sake; nor could they hire any to go in their places, being resigned as to the event of it. At length, the captain acquainted them all, that they might return home for the present, and required them to provide themselves as soldiers, and to be in readiness to march when called upon.

This was such a time as I had not seen before; and yet I may say, with thankfulness to the Lord, that I believe this trial was intended for our good; and I was favoured with resignation to him. The French army taking the fort they were besieging, destroyed it and went away; the company of men first draughted, after some days march, had orders to return home; and those on the second draught were no more called upon on that occasion.

On the 4th day of the 4th month, 1758, orders came to some officers in Mount Holly, to prepare quarters a short time for about one hundred soldiers. And an officer and two other men, all inhabitants of our town, came to my house; and the officer told me that he came to speak with me to provide lodging and entertainment for two soldiers, there being six shillings a week per man allowed as pay for it. The case being new and unexpected, I made no answer suddenly; but sat a time silent, my mind being inward. I was fully convinced, that the proceedings in wars are inconsistent with the purity of the christian religion; and to be hired to entertain men who were then under pay as soldiers, was a difficulty with me. I expected they had legal authority for what they did; and after a short time, I said to the officer, if the men are sent here for entertainment, I believe I shall not refuse to admit them into my house; but the nature of the case is such, that I expect I cannot keep them on hire. One of the men intimated that he thought I might do it consistent with my religious principles; to which I made no reply; as believing silence, at that time, best

for me. Though they spake of two, there came only one, who tarried at my house about two weeks, and behaved himself civilly; and when the officer came to pay me, I told him I could not take pay for it, having admitted him into my house in a passive obedience to authority. I was on horseback when he spake to me; and as I turned from him, he said he was obliged to me: to which I said nothing; but thinking on the expression, I grew uneasy; and afterwards, being near where he lived, I went and told him on what grounds I refused taking pay for keeping the soldier.

Near the beginning of the year 1758, I went one evening, in company with a friend, to visit a sick person; and before our return, we were told of a woman living near, who, of late, had several days been disconsolate, occasioned by a dream; wherein death, and the judgments of the Almighty after death, were represented to her mind in a moving manner: her sadness, on that account, being worn off, the friend with whom I was in company went to see her, and had some religious conversation with her and her husband. With this visit they were somewhat affected; and the man in particular, with many tears, expressed his satisfaction; and in a short time after, the poor man being on the river in a storm of wind, he, with one more, was drowned.

In the 8th month, 1758, having had drawings in my mind to be at the Quarterly meeting in Chester county, and at some meetings in Philadelphia county, I went first to said Quarterly meeting, which was large; and several weighty matters came under consideration and debate; and the Lord was pleased to qualify some of his servants with strength and firmness, to bear the burden of the day. Though I said but little, my mind was deeply exercised; and, under a sense of God's love in the anointing and fitting of some young men for his work, I was comforted, and my heart was tendered before him. From hence I went to the youth's meeting at Darby, where my beloved friend and brother, Benjamin Jones, met me by an agreement made

before I left home, to join in the visit; and we were at Radnor, Merion, Richland, North Wales, Plymouth, and Abington meetings: and had cause to bow in reverence before the Lord our gracious God, by whose help way was opened for us from day to day. I was out about two weeks, and rode about two hundred miles.

The monthly meeting of Philadelphia having been under a concern on account of some Friends, who this summer (1758) had bought negro slaves; the said meeting moved it to their Quarterly meeting, to have the minute reconsidered in the Yearly Meeting, which was made last on that subject: and the said Quarterly meeting appointed a committee to consider it and report to their next. Which committee having met once and adjourned; and I going to Philadelphia to meet a committee of the Yearly Meeting, was in town the evening on which the Quarterly meeting's committee met the second time; and finding an inclination to sit with them, was, with some others, admitted: and Friends had a weighty conference on the subject. Soon after their next Quarterly meeting, I heard that the case was coming to our Yearly Meeting; which brought a weighty exercise upon me; and under a sense of my own infirmities, and the great danger I felt of turning aside from perfect purity, my mind was often drawn to retire alone, and put up my prayers to the Lord, that he would be graciously pleased so to strengthen me, that, setting aside all views of self-interest and the friendship of this world, I might stand fully resigned to his holy will.

In this Yearly Meeting, several weighty matters were considered; and toward the last, that in relation to dealing with persons who purchase slaves. During the several sittings of the said meeting, my mind was frequently covered with inward prayer; and I could say with David, that "tears were my meat day and night." The case of slave-keeping lay heavy upon me; nor did I find any engagement to speak directly to any other matter before the meeting. Now when



this case was opened, several faithful Friends spake weightily thereto, with which I was comforted: and feeling a concern to cast in my mite, I said in substance, as follows:

In the difficulties attending us in this life, nothing is more precious than the mind of Truth inwardly manifested; and it is my earnest desire, that in this weighty matter we may be so truly humbled as to be favoured with a clear understanding of the mind of Truth, and follow it: this would be of more advantage to the society, than any medium not in the clearness of Divine wisdom. The case is difficult to some who have them: but if such set aside all self-interest, and come to be weaned from the desire of getting estates, or even from holding them together when Truth requires the contrary, I believe way will open, that they will know how to steer through those difficulties.

Many Friends appeared to be deeply bowed under the weight of the work; and manifested much firmness in their love to the cause of Truth and universal righteousness in the earth. And though none did openly justify the practice of slave-keeping in general, yet some appeared concerned, lest the meeting should go into such measures as might give uneasiness to many brethren; alledging, that if Friends patiently continued under the exercise, the Lord, in time to come, might open a way for the deliverance of these people; and I, finding an engagement to speak, said, My mind is often led to consider the purity of the Divine Being, and the justice of his judgments; and herein my soul is covered with awfulness. I cannot omit to hint of some cases, where people have not been treated with the purity of justice, and the event hath been lamentable. Many slaves on this continent are oppressed, and their cries have reached the ears of the Most High! Such are the purity and certainty of his judgments, that he cannot be partial in our favour. In infinite love and goodness,

he hath opened our understandings from one time to another, concerning our duty toward this people; and it is not a time for delay. Should we now be sensible of what he requires of us, and through a respect to the private interest of some persons, or through a regard to some friendships which do not stand on an immutable foundation,—neglect to do our duty in firmness and constancy, still waiting for some extraordinary means to bring about their deliverance; it may be that *by terrible things in righteousness*, God may answer us in this matter.

Many faithful brethren laboured with great firmness; and the love of Truth, in a good degree, prevailed. Several Friends who had negroes, expressed their desire that a rule might be made, to deal with such Friends as offenders who bought slaves in future. To this it was answered, that the root of this evil would not be removed from amongst us, until a close inquiry was made into the circumstances of such Friends who kept negroes, with respect to the righteousness of their motives in keeping them; so that impartial justice might be administered throughout. Several Friends expressed their desire, that a visit might be made to such Friends who kept slaves: and many Friends said that they believed liberty was the negroes right; to which, at length, no opposition was made publicly. A minute was made more full on that subject, than any heretofore; and the names of several Friends entered, who were free to join in a visit to such who had slaves.

## CHAPTER VI.

His visiting the Quarterly meetings in Chester county; and afterwards joining with Daniel Stanton and John Scarbrough, in a visit to such as kept slaves there—Some observations on the conduct such should maintain who are concerned to speak in meetings for discipline—Several more visits to such who kept slaves; and to Friends near Salem—Some account of the Yearly Meeting in the year 1759; and of the increasing concern in divers provinces, to labour against buying and keeping slaves—The Yearly Meeting epistle—His thoughts on the small-pox spreading—and on inoculation.

On the 11th day of the 11th month, 1758, I set out for Concord; the Quarterly meeting, heretofore held there, was now, by reason of a great increase of members, divided into two by the agreement of Friends at our last Yearly Meeting. Here I met with our beloved friends, Samuel Spavold and Mary Kirby from England, and with Joseph White from Bucks county, who had taken leave of his family in order to go on a religious visit to Friends in England; and, through Divine goodness, we were favoured with a strengthening opportunity together.

After this meeting I joined with my friends Daniel Stanton and John Scarbrough, in visiting Friends who had slaves; and at night we had a family meeting at William Trimble's, many young people being there; and it was a precious reviving opportunity. Next morning we had a comfortable sitting with a sick neighbour; and thence to the burial of the corpse of a Friend at Uwchlan meeting, at which were many people, and it was a time of Divine favour; after which we visited some who had slaves. The next day we visited several others who had slaves, and at night had a family sitting at our friend Aaron Ashbridge's, where the channel of gospel love was opened, and my mind was comforted after a hard day's labour. The next day we were at Goshen monthly meeting; and then, on the 18th of the 11th month, attended the

Quarterly meeting at London Grove, it being the first held at that place. Here we met again with all the before-mentioned Friends, and had some edifying meetings: and near the conclusion of the meeting for business, Friends were incited to constancy in supporting the testimony of Truth, and reminded of the necessity which the servants of God are under to attend principally to his business, as he is pleased to open it to us; and to be particularly careful to have our minds redeemed from the love of wealth; to have our outward affairs in as little room as may be; so that no temporal concerns may entangle our affections, or hinder us from diligently following the dictates of Truth, in labouring to promote the pure spirit of meekness and heavenly mindedness amongst the children of men, in these days of calamity and distress, wherein God is visiting our land with his just judgments.

Each of these Quarterly meetings was large, and sat near eight hours. Here I had occasion to consider that it is a weighty thing to speak much in large meetings for business: for, except our minds are rightly prepared, and we clearly understand the case we speak to, instead of forwarding, we hinder business, and make more labour for those on whom the burden of the work is laid.

In selfish views, or party spirit, have any room in our minds, we are unfit for the Lord's work: if we have a clear prospect of the business, and proper weight on our minds to speak, it behoves us to avoid useless apologies and repetitions. Where people are gathered from far, and adjourning a meeting of business is attended with great difficulty, it behoves all to be cautious how they detain a meeting; especially when they have sat six or seven hours, and have a good way to ride home. After this meeting I went home.

In the beginning of the 12th month, 1758, I joined in company with my friends, John Sykes and Daniel Stanton, in visiting such who had slaves. Some,

whose hearts were rightly exercised about them, appeared to be glad of our visit; but in some places our way was more difficult; and I often saw the necessity of keeping down to that root from whence our concern proceeded; and have cause, in reverent thankfulness, humbly to bow down before the Lord, who was near to me, and preserved my mind in calmness under some sharp conflicts, and begat a spirit of sympathy and tenderness in me, toward some who were grievously entangled by the spirit of this world.

In the 1st month, 1759, having found my mind drawn to visit some of the more active members in our society at Philadelphia, who had slaves, I met my friend John Churchman there by an agreement; and we continued about a week in the city. We visited some that were sick, and some widows and their families; and the other part of our time was mostly employed in visiting such who had slaves—It was a time of deep exercise; looking often to the Lord for his assistance; who, in unspeakable kindness, favoured us with the influence of that spirit which crucifies to the greatness and splendor of this world, and enabled us to go through some heavy labours; in which we found peace.

On the 24th of the 3d month, 1759, I was at our general Spring meeting at Philadelphia: at which were William Reckitt and John Storer, from England.—After this meeting I again joined with John Churchman, in a visit to some more who had slaves in Philadelphia; and, with thankfulness to our heavenly Father, I may say, that Divine love and a true sympathizing tenderness of heart prevailed at times in this service.

Having, at times, perceived a shyness in some Friends of considerable note, towards me, I found an engagement in gospel love to pay a visit to one of them; and as I dwelt under the exercise, I felt a resignedness in my mind to go. So I went, and told him in private I had a desire to have an opportunity with him alone; to which he readily agreed. And

then in the fear of the Lord, things relating to that shyness were searched to the bottom; and we had a large conference which, I believe, was of use to both of us; and am thankful that way was opened for it.

On the 14th of the 6th month, 1759, having felt drawings in my mind to visit Friends about Salem; and having the approbation of our monthly meeting therein, I attended their Quarterly meeting, and was out seven days, and at seven meetings: in some of which I was chiefly silent, and in others, through the baptizing power of Truth, my heart was enlarged in heavenly love, and I found a near fellow-feeling with the brethren and sisters, in the manifold trials attending their christian progress through this world.

In the 7th month, I found an increasing concern on my mind to visit some active members in our society who had slaves: and having no opportunity of the company of such who were named on the minutes of the Yearly Meeting, I went alone to their houses, and in the fear of the Lord, acquainted them with the exercise I was under: and thus, sometimes by a few words, I found myself discharged from a heavy burden.

After this, our friend John Churchman coming into our province with a view to be at some meetings, and to join again in the visit to those who had slaves, I bore him company in the said visit to some active members, and found inward satisfaction.

At our Yearly Meeting in the year 1759, we had some weighty seasons; where the power of Truth was largely extended, to the strengthening of the honest-minded. As Friends read over the epistles, to be sent to the Yearly Meetings along this continent, I observed in most of them, both this year and last, it was recommended to Friends to labour against buying and keeping slaves; and in some of them closely treated upon. As this practice hath long been a heavy exercise to me, and I have often waded through mortifying labours on that account; and at times, in some meetings been almost alone therein; now, observing

the increasing concern in our religious society, and seeing how the Lord was raising up and qualifying servants for his work, not only in this respect, but for promoting the cause of Truth in general, I was humbly bowed in thankfulness before him.

This meeting continued near a week; and for several days in the fore part of it, my mind was drawn into a deep inward stillness;—and being, at times, covered with the spirit of supplication, my heart was secretly poured out before the Lord. And near the conclusion of the meeting for business, way opened, so that, in the pure flowings of Divine love, I expressed what lay upon me; which, as it then arose in my mind, was first to show how deep answers to deep in the hearts of the sincere and upright; though, in their different growths they may not all have attained to the same clearness in some points relating to our testimony. And I was led to mention the integrity and constancy of many martyrs, who gave their lives for the testimony of Jesus; and yet, in some points, held doctrines distinguishable from some which we hold: and that, in all ages, where people were faithful to the light and understanding which the Most High afforded them, they found acceptance with him: and that now, though there are different ways of thinking amongst us in some particulars, yet, if we mutually kept to that spirit and power which crucifies to the world, which teaches us to be content with things really needful, and to avoid all superfluities, giving up our hearts to fear and serve the Lord, true unity may still be preserved amongst us. And that if such, who were, at times, under sufferings on account of some scruples of conscience, kept low and humble, and in their conduct in life manifested a spirit of true charity; it would be more likely to reach the witness in others, and be of more service in the church, than if their sufferings were attended with a contrary spirit and conduct. In which exercise I was drawn into a sympathizing tenderness with the sheep of Christ, however distinguished one from another in

this world; and the like disposition appeared to spread over others in the meeting. Great is the goodness of the Lord toward his poor creatures.

An epistle went forth from this Yearly Meeting, which I think good to give a place in this Journal; being as follows:

*From the Yearly Meeting held at Philadelphia, for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, from the 22d day of the 9th month, to the 28th of the same, inclusive, 1759.*

To the Quarterly and monthly meetings of Friends belonging to the said Yearly Meeting.

Dearly beloved friends and brethren,—

In an awful sense of the wisdom and goodness of the Lord our God, whose tender mercies have long been continued to us in this land, we affectionately salute you; with sincere and fervent desires, that we may reverently regard the dispensations of his providence, and improve under them.

The empires and kingdoms of the earth are subject to his Almighty power. He is the God of the spirits of all flesh; and deals with his people agreeable to that wisdom, the depth whereof is to us unsearchable.— We, in these provinces, may say, He hath, as a gracious and tender parent, dealt bountifully with us, even from the days of our fathers. It was He who strengthened them to labour through the difficulties attending the improvement of a wilderness, and made way for them in the hearts of the natives; so that by them they were comforted in times of want and distress; it was by the gracious influences of his holy spirit, that they were disposed to work righteousness, and to walk uprightly one towards another, and towards the natives; and in life and conversation to manifest the excellency of the principles and doctrines of the christian religion; and thereby they retain their



esteem and friendship. Whilst they were labouring for the necessaries of life, many of them were fervently engaged to promote piety and virtue in the earth, and to educate their children in the fear of the Lord.

If we carefully consider the peaceable measures pursued in the first settlement of the land, and that freedom from the desolations of wars, which for a long time we enjoyed, we shall find ourselves under strong obligations to the Almighty, who, when the earth is so generally polluted with wickedness, gave us a being in a part so signally favoured with tranquillity and plenty; and in which the glad tidings of the gospel of Christ are so freely published, that we may justly say with the psalmist, "What shall we render unto the Lord for all his benefits!"

Our own real good, and the good of our posterity, in some measure depends on the part we act; and it nearly concerns us to try our foundations impartially. Such are the different rewards of the just and unjust in a future state, that to attend diligently to the dictates of the spirit of Christ, to devote ourselves to his service, and engage fervently in his cause, during our short stay in this world, is a choice well becoming a free intelligent creature; we shall thus clearly see and consider that the dealings of God with mankind in a national capacity, as recorded in holy writ, do sufficiently evidence the truth of that saying, "It is righteousness which exalteth a nation." And tho' he doeth not at all times suddenly execute his judgments on a sinful people in this life, yet we see by many instances, that where "men follow lying vanities, they forsake their own mercies:" and as a proud, selfish spirit prevails and spreads among a people, so partial judgment, oppression, discord, envy and confusions increase, and provinces and kingdoms are made to drink the cup of adversity as a reward of their own doings. Thus the inspired prophet, reasoning with the degenerated Jews, saith, "Thine own wickedness shall correct thee, and thy backslidings shall reprove

thee: know therefore, that it is an evil thing and bitter, that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God, and that my fear is not in thee, saith the Lord God of hosts." Jer. ii. 19.

The God of our fathers, who hath bestowed on us many benefits, furnished a table for us in the wilderness, and made the deserts and solitary places to rejoice; he doth now mercifully call upon us to serve him more faithfully. We may truly say with the prophet, "It is his voice which crieth to the city, and men of wisdom see his name. They regard the rod, and him who hath appointed it."

People who look chiefly at things outward, too little consider the original cause of the present troubles; but such who fear the Lord, and think often upon his name, they see and feel that a wrong spirit is spreading among the inhabitants of our country;—that the hearts of many are waxed fat, and their ears dull of hearing;—that the Most High, in his visitations to us, instead of calling, he lifteth up his voice and crieth; he crieth to our country, and his voice waxeth louder and louder.

In former wars between the English and other nations, since the settlement of our provinces, the calamities attending them have fallen chiefly on other places, but now of late they have reached to our borders: many of our fellow subjects have suffered on and near our frontiers; some have been slain in battle, some killed in their houses, and some in their fields, some wounded and left in great misery, and others separated from their wives and little children, who have been carried captives among the Indians. We have seen men and women who have been witnesses of these scenes of sorrow, and being reduced to want, have come to our houses asking relief.—It is not long since it was the case of many young men in one of these provinces to be draughted, in order to be taken as soldiers: some were at that time in great distress, and had occasion to consider that their lives had been too little conformable to the purity and spiritual-

ity of that religion which we profess, and found themselves too little acquainted with that inward humility, in which true fortitude to endure hardness for the Truth's sake is experienced.—Many parents were concerned for their children, and in that time of trial were led to consider, that their care to get outward treasure for them, had been greater than their care for their settlement in that religion which crucifieth to the world, and enableth to bear a clear testimony to the peaceable government of the Messiah. These troubles are removed, and for a time we are released from them.

Let us not forget that “the Most High hath his way in the deep, in clouds and in thick darkness”—that it is his voice which crieth to the city and to the country; and, Oh! that these loud and awakening cries, may have a proper effect upon us, that heavier chastisement may not become necessary! For though things, as to the outward, may, for a short time, afford a pleasing prospect; yet while a selfish spirit that is not subject to the cross of Christ, continueth to spread and prevail, there can be no long continuance in outward peace and tranquillity. If we desire an inheritance incorruptible, and to be at rest in that state of peace and happiness which ever continues;—if we desire in this life to dwell under the favour and protection of that Almighty Being, whose habitation is in holiness, whose ways are all equal, and whose anger is now kindled because of our backslidings; let us then awfully regard these beginnings of his sore judgments, and with abasement and humiliation turn to Him whom we have offended.

Contending with one equal in strength is an uneasy exercise: but if the Lord is become our enemy,—if we persist to contend with Him who is omnipotent, our overthrow will be unavoidable.

Do we feel an affectionate regard to posterity; and are we employed to promote their happiness? Do our minds, in things outward, look beyond our own

dissolution; and are we contriving for the prosperity of our children after us? Let us then, like wise builders, lay the foundation deep; and by our constant uniform regard to an inward piety and virtue, let them see that we really value it. Let us labour, in the fear of the Lord, that their innocent minds, while young and tender, may be preserved from corruptions;—that as they advance in age, they may rightly understand their true interest,—may consider the uncertainty of temporal things, and above all, have their hope and confidence firmly settled in the blessing of that Almighty Being, who inhabits eternity, and preserves and supports the world.

In all our cares about worldly treasures, let us steadily bear in mind, that riches possessed by children who do not truly serve God, are likely to prove snares, that may more grievously entangle them in that spirit of selfishness and exaltation, which stands in opposition to real peace and happiness; and renders them enemies to the cross of Christ, who submit to the influence of it.

To keep a watchful eye towards real objects of charity,—to visit the poor in their lonesome dwelling places,—to comfort them who, through the dispensations of Divine Providence, are in strait and painful circumstances in this life,—and steadily to endeavour to honour God with our substance, from a real sense of the love of Christ influencing our minds thereto,—is more likely to bring a blessing to our children, and will afford more satisfaction to a christian favoured with plenty, than an earnest desire to collect much wealth to leave behind us; for “here we have no continuing city:” may we therefore diligently “seek one that is to come, whose builder and maker is God.”

“Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, if there be

any praise, think on these things and do them, and the God of peace shall be with you."

Signed by appointment, and on behalf of our said meeting, by

MORDECAI YARNALL,  
 THOMAS MASSEY,  
 JOHN CHURCHMAN,  
 JOHN SCARBROUGH,  
 PETER FEARON,  
 THOMAS EVANS,  
 JOSEPH PARKER.

On the 28th day of the 11th month, 1759, I was at the Quarterly meeting in Bucks county; this day being the meeting of ministers and elders, my heart was enlarged in the love of Jesus Christ; and the favour of the Most High was extended to us in that and the ensuing meeting.

I had conversation, at my lodging, with my beloved friend Samuel Eastburn; who expressed a concern to join in a visit to some Friends in that county, who had negroes; and as I had felt a draught in my mind to that work in the said county, I came home and put things in order. On the 11th of the 12th month following, I went over the river; and on the next day was at Buckingham meeting; where, through the descendings of heavenly dew, my mind was comforted and drawn into a near unity with the flock of Christ.

Entering upon this visit appeared weighty: and before I left home my mind was often sad; under which exercise I felt, at times, the Holy Spirit which helps our infirmities; through which, in private, my prayers were at times put up to God, that he would be pleased to purge me from all selfishness, so that I might be strengthened to discharge my duty faithfully, how hard soever to the natural part. We proceeded on the visit in a weighty frame of spirit, and went to the houses of the most active members, throughout the county, who had negroes; and through the goodness of the Lord, my mind was preserved in resigna-

tion in times of trial; and though the work was hard to nature, yet through the strength of that love which is stronger than death, tenderness of heart was often felt amongst us in our visits, and we parted from several families with greater satisfaction than we expected.

We visited Joseph White's family, he being in England; had also a family sitting at the house of an elder who bore us company; and were at Makefield on a first-day. At all which times my heart was truly thankful to the Lord, who was graciously pleased to renew his loving kindness to us, his poor servants, uniting us together in his work.

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In the winter of this year, the small-pox being in our town, and many being inoculated, of which a few died, some things were opened in my mind, which I wrote as follows:

The more fully our lives are conformable to the will of God, the better it is for us. I have looked on the small-pox as a messenger from the Almighty, to be an assistant in the cause of virtue, and to incite us to consider whether we employ our time only in such things as are consistent with perfect wisdom and goodness.

Building houses suitable to dwell in, for ourselves and our creatures;—preparing clothing suitable for the climate and season, and food convenient,—are all duties incumbent on us: and under these general heads, are many branches of business, in which we may venture health and life, as necessity may require.

This disease being in a house, and my business calling me to go near it, it incites me to think whether this business is a real indispensable duty;—whether it is not in conformity to some custom, which would be better laid aside;—or whether it does not proceed from too eager a pursuit after some outward treasure. If the business before me springs not from a clear understanding, and a regard to that use of things which perfect wisdom approves; to be brought

to a sense of it and stopped in my pursuit, is a kindness: for when I proceed to business without some evidence of duty, I have found by experience, that it tends to weakness.

If I am so situated that there appears no probability of missing the infection, it tends to make me think whether my manner of life, in things outward, has nothing in it which may unfit my body to receive this messenger in a way the most favourable to me. Do I use food and drink in no other sort, and in no other degree, than was designed by Him, who gave these creatures for our sustenance? Do I never abuse my body by inordinate labour, striving to accomplish some end which I have unwisely proposed? Do I use action enough in some useful employ? Or do I sit too much idle, while some persons who labour to support me, have too great a share of it? If, in any of these things, I am deficient, to be incited to consider it, is a favour to me.

There is employ necessary in social life; and this infection, which often proves mortal, incites me to think whether these social acts of mine are real duties. If I go on a visit to the widows and fatherless, do I go purely on a principle of charity, free from every selfish view? If I go to a religious meeting, it puts me on thinking whether I go in sincerity and in a clear sense of duty; or whether it is not partly in conformity to custom, or partly from a sensible delight which my animal spirits feel in the company of other people; and whether to support my reputation as a religious man, has no share in it.

Do affairs, relating to civil society, call me near this infection? If I go, it is at the hazard of my health and life; and becomes me to think seriously, whether love to truth and righteousness is the motive of my attending;—whether the manner of proceeding is altogether equitable;—or whether aught of narrowness, party interest, respect to outward dignities, names, or distinctions among men, do not stain the beauty of those assemblies, and render it doubtful, in point of

duty, whether a disciple of Christ ought to attend as a member united to the body or not.

Whenever there are blemishes which for a series of time remain such, that which is a means of stirring us up to look attentively on these blemishes, and to labour according to our capacities, to have health and soundness restored in our country, we may justly account a kindness from our gracious Father, who appointed that mean.

The care of a wise and good man for his only son, is inferior to the regard of the great Parent of the universe for his creatures. He hath the command of all the powers and operations in nature; and "doth not afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men." Chastisement is intended for instruction; and instruction being received by gentle chastisement, greater calamities are prevented.

By an earthquake hundreds of houses are sometimes shaken down in a few minutes, and multitudes of people perish suddenly; and many more, being crushed and bruised in the ruins of the buildings, pine away and die in great misery.

By the breaking in of enraged, merciless armies, flourishing countries have been laid waste, and great numbers of people perished in a short time, and many more pressed with poverty and grief.

By the pestilence people have died so fast in a city, that through fear, grief, and confusion, those in health have found great difficulty in burying the dead, even without coffins.

By famine great numbers of people, in some places, have been brought to the utmost distress, and pined away for want of the necessaries of life. Thus, where the kind invitations and gentle chastisements of a gracious God have not been attended to, his sore judgments have at times been poured out upon people.

While some rules approved in civil society, and conformable to human policy, so called, are distinguishable from the purity of Truth and righteousness;—while many professing Truth are declining



from that ardent love and heavenly mindedness, which was amongst the primitive followers of Jesus Christ;— it is a time for us to attend diligently to the intent of every chastisement, and consider the most deep and inward design of them.

The Most High doth not often speak with an outward voice to our outward ears; but if we humbly meditate on his perfections, consider that he is perfect wisdom and goodness, and to afflict his creatures to no purpose would be utterly reverse to his nature,— we shall hear and understand his language, both in his gentle and more heavy chastisements; and take heed that we do not, in the wisdom of this world, endeavour to escape his hand by means too powerful for us.

Had he endowed men with understanding to hinder the force of this disease by innocent means, which had never proved mortal nor hurtful to our bodies,— such discovery might be considered as the period of chastisement by this distemper, where that knowledge extended. But as life and health are his gifts, and not to be disposed of in our own wills, to take upon us, when in health, a distemper, of which some die, requires great clearness of knowledge that it is our duty to do so.

## CHAPTER VII.

His visit, in company with Samuel Eastburn, to Long Island, Rhode Island, Boston, &c. in New England—Remarks on the slave-trade at Newport, and his exercise on that account; also on lotteries—Some observations on the Island of Nantucket.

Having, for some time past, felt a sympathy in my mind with Friends eastward, I opened my concern in our monthly meeting; and obtaining a certificate, set forward on the 17th day of the 4th month, in the year 1760, joining in company, by a previous agreement, with my beloved friend Samuel Eastburn. We had meetings at Woodbridge, Rahway, and Plainfield; and were at their monthly meeting of ministers and elders in Rahway. We laboured under some discouragement; but, through the invisible power of Truth, our visit was made reviving to the lowly-minded, with whom I felt a near unity of spirit, being much reduced in my own mind. We passed on, and visited chief of the meetings on Long Island. It was my concern, from day to day, to say no more nor less than what the spirit of Truth opened in me, being jealous over myself, lest I should speak any thing to make my testimony look agreeable to that mind in people which is not in pure obedience to the cross of Christ.

The spring of the ministry was often low; and thro' the subjecting power of Truth, we were kept low with it: and from place to place, such whose hearts were truly concerned for the cause of Christ, appeared to be comforted in our labours. And though it was, in general, a time of abasement of the creature, yet through His goodness, who is a helper of the poor, we had some truly edifying seasons, both in meetings and in families where we tarried; and sometimes found strength to labour earnestly with the unfaithful, especially with those whose station in families, or in the society, was such, that their example had a powerful

tendency to open the way for others to go aside from the purity and soundness of the blessed Truth. At Jericho, on Long Island, I wrote home as follows:

24th of the 4th month, 1760.

Dearly beloved wife,—

We are favoured with health; have been at sundry meetings in East Jersey, and on this Island. My mind hath been much in an inward watchful frame since I left thee, greatly desiring that our proceedings may be singly in the will of our heavenly Father.

As the present appearance of things is not joyous, I have been much shut up from outward cheerfulness, remembering that promise, "Then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord."—As this, from day to day, has been revived in my memory, I have considered that his internal presence on our minds is a delight of all others the most pure; and that the honest-hearted not only delight in this, but in the effect of it upon them. He regards the helpless and distressed, and reveals his love to his children under affliction, they delight in beholding his benevolence, and feeling Divine charity moving upon them: of this I may speak a little; for though, since I left you, I have often found an engaging love and affection towards thee and our daughter, and Friends about home, that going out at this time, when sickness is so great amongst you, is a trial upon me; yet I often remember there are many widows and fatherless,—many who have poor tutors,—many who have evil examples before them,—and many whose minds are in captivity; for whose sake my heart is, at times, moved with compassion, so that I feel my mind resigned to leave you for a season, to exercise that gift which the Lord hath bestowed on me; which though small, compared with some, yet in this I rejoice, that I feel love unfeigned toward my fellow-creatures. I recommend you to the Almighty, who I trust cares for you; and under a sense of his heavenly love, remain thy loving husband,

JOHN WOOLMAN.

We crossed from the east end of Long Island to New London, about thirty miles, in a large open boat. While we were out, the wind rising high, the waves several times beat over us, so that to me it appeared dangerous; but my mind was, at that time, turned to Him who made and governs the deep, and my life was resigned to him: and as he was mercifully pleased to preserve us, I had fresh occasion to consider every day as a day lent to me; and felt a renewed engagement to devote my time and all I had, to Him who gave it.

We had five meetings in Narraganset; and went thence to Newport on Rhode Island. Our gracious Father preserved us in a humble dependence on him through deep exercises, that were mortifying to the creaturely will. In several families in the country, where we lodged, I felt an engagement on my mind to have a conference with them in private concerning their slaves; and through Divine aid, I was favoured to give up thereto. Though in this concern I appear singular from many, whose service in travelling, I believe is greater than mine; I do not think hard of them for omitting it: I do not repine at having so unpleasant a task assigned me, but look with awfulness to Him who appoints to his servants their respective employments, and is good to all who serve him sincerely.

We got to Newport in the evening: and on the next day visited two sick persons, and had comfortable sittings with them; and in the afternoon attended the burial of a Friend. The next day we were at meetings at Newport, in the forenoon and afternoon; where the spring of the ministry was opened, and strength given to declare the word of Life to the people.

The next day we went on our journey: but the great number of slaves in these parts, and the continuance of that trade from thence to Guinea, made deep impression on me; and my cries were often put up to my heavenly Father in secret, that he would enable

me to discharge my duty faithfully, in such way as he might be pleased to point out to me.

We took Swanzey, Free-town, and Taunton, in our way to Boston; where also we had a meeting. Our exercise was deep, and the love of Truth prevailed; for which I bless the Lord. We went eastward about eighty miles beyond Boston, taking meetings, and were in a good degree preserved in a humble dependence on that arm which drew us out. And, tho' we had some hard labour with the disobedient, laying things home and close to such who were stout against the Truth; yet, through the goodness of God, we had, at times, to partake of heavenly comfort with them who were meek, and were often favoured to part with Friends in the nearness of true gospel fellowship.— We returned to Boston, and had another comfortable opportunity with Friends there; and thence rode a day's journey westward to Bolton. Our guide being a heavy man, and the weather hot, and my companion and I considering it, expressed our freedom to go on without him; to which he consented, and we respectfully took our leave of him: this we did, as believing the journey would have been hard to him and his horse.

We visited the meetings in those parts, and were measurably baptized into a feeling of the state of the society; and in bowedness of spirit went to the Yearly Meeting at Newport; where I understood that a large number of slaves were imported from Africa into that town, and then on sale by a member of our society. At this meeting we met with John Storer from England, Elizabeth Shipley, Ann Gaunt, Hannah Foster, and Mercy Redman, from our parts; all ministers of the gospel, of whose company I was glad.

At this time my appetite failed, and I grew outwardly weak, and had a feeling of the condition of Habakkuk, as thus expressed: "When I heard, my belly trembled; my lips quivered; and I trembled in myself that I might rest in the day of trouble." I had many cogitations, and was sorely distressed; and was

desirous that Friends might petition the legislature, to use their endeavours to discourage the future importation of slaves; for I saw that this trade was a great evil, and tended to multiply troubles, and bring distresses on the people in those parts, for whose welfare my heart was deeply concerned.

But I perceived several difficulties in regard to petitioning: and such was the exercise of my mind, that I had thoughts of endeavouring to get an opportunity to speak a few words in the House of Assembly, then sitting in town. This exercise came upon me in the afternoon on the second day of the Yearly Meeting; and going to bed, I got no sleep till my mind was wholly resigned therein; and in the morning I inquired of a friend how long the Assembly were likely to continue sitting; who told me, they were expected to be prorogued that day or the next.

As I was desirous to attend the business of the meeting, and perceived the Assembly were likely to depart before the business was over; after considerable exercise, humbly seeking to the Lord for instruction, my mind settled to attend on the business of the meeting; on the last day of which, I had prepared a short essay of a petition to be presented to the legislature, if way opened for it. And being informed that there were some appointed by that Yearly Meeting to speak with those in authority, in cases relating to the society, I opened my mind to several of them, and showed them the essay I had made; and afterward opened the case in the meeting for business, in substance as follows:

“I have been under a concern for some time, on account of the great number of slaves which are imported into this colony. I am aware that it is a tender point to speak to, but apprehend I am not clear in the sight of heaven without speaking to it. I have prepared an essay of a petition, if way open, to be presented to the legislature; and what I have to propose to this meeting is, that some Friends may be named to withdraw and look over it, and report whether

they believe it suitable to be read in the meeting. If they should think well of reading it, it will remain for the meeting, after hearing it, to consider whether to take any further notice of it as a meeting or not."

After a short conference, some Friends went out, and, looking over it, expressed their willingness to have it read; which being done, many expressed their unity with the proposal; and some signified, that to have the subject of the petition enlarged upon, and to be signed out of meeting by such who were free, would be more suitable than to do it there. Though I expected, at first, that if it was done, it would be in that way; yet, such was the exercise of my mind, that to move it in the hearing of Friends when assembled, appeared to me as a duty; for my heart yearned toward the inhabitants of these parts; believing that by this trade there had been an increase of inquietude amongst them, and a way made easy for the spreading of a spirit opposite to that meekness and humility, which is a sure resting place for the soul:—and that the continuance of this trade would not only render their healing more difficult, but increase their malady.

Having thus far proceeded, I felt easy to leave the essay amongst Friends, for them to proceed in it as they believed best. And now an exercise revived on my mind in relation to lotteries, which were common in those parts. I had once moved it in a former sitting of this meeting, when arguments were used in favour of Friends being held excused, who were only concerned in such lotteries as were agreeable to law: and now on moving it again, it was opposed as before. But the hearts of some solid Friends appeared to be united to discourage the practice amongst their members; and the matter was zealously handled by some on both sides.

In this debate, it appeared very clear to me, that the spirit of lotteries was a spirit of selfishness, which tended to confusion and darkness of understanding;

and that pleading for it in our meetings, set apart for the Lord's work, was not right: and in the heat of zeal, I once made reply to what an ancient Friend said, which, when I sat down, I saw that my words were not enough seasoned with charity; and after this I spoke no more on the subject. At length a minute was made; a copy of which was agreed to be sent to their several Quarterly meetings, inciting Friends to labour to discourage the practice amongst all professing with us.

Some time after this minute was made, I, remaining uneasy with the manner of my speaking to the ancient Friend, could not see my way clear to conceal my uneasiness, but was concerned that I might say nothing to weaken the cause in which I had laboured: and then, after some close exercise and hearty repentance, for that I had not attended closely to the safe guide, I stood up, and reciting the passage, acquainted Friends, that though I dare not go from what I had said, as to the matter, yet I was uneasy with the manner of my speaking, as believing milder language would have been better. As this was uttered in some degree of creaturely abasement, it appeared to have a good savour amongst us, after a warm debate.

The Yearly Meeting being now over, there yet remained on my mind a secret though heavy exercise, in regard to some leading active members about Newport, being in the practice of slave keeping. This I mentioned to two ancient Friends, who came out of the country, and proposed to them, if way opened, to have some conversation with those Friends: and thereupon, one of those country Friends and I consulted one of the most noted elders who had slaves; and he in a respectful manner, encouraged me to proceed to clear myself of what lay upon me. Now I had had, near the beginning of the Yearly Meeting, a private conference with this said elder and his wife, concerning theirs; so that the way seemed clear to me to advise with him about the manner of proceeding. I told



him, I was free to have a conference with them altogether in a private house; or, if he thought they would take it unkind to be asked to come together, and to be spoke with one in the hearing of another, I was free to spend some time among them, and visit them all in their own houses. He expressed his liking to the first proposal, not doubting their willingness to come together: and as I proposed a visit to only ministers, elders, and overseers; he named some others whom he desired might be present also: and as a careful messenger was wanted to acquaint them in a proper manner, he offered to go to all their houses to open the matter to them; and did so. About the eighth hour the next morning, we met in the meeting-house chamber, and the last-mentioned country Friend, also my companion, and John Storer, with us; when, after a short time of retirement, I acquainted them with the steps I had taken in procuring that meeting, and opened the concern I was under; and so we proceeded to a free conference upon the subject. My exercise was heavy, and I was deeply bowed in spirit before the Lord, who was pleased to favour with the seasoning virtue of Truth, which wrought a tenderness amongst us; and the subject was mutually handled in a calm and peaceable spirit. And at length, feeling my mind released from that burden which I had been under, I took my leave of them, in a good degree of satisfaction: and by the tenderness they manifested in regard to the practice, and the concern several of them expressed in relation to the manner of disposing of their negroes after their decease, I believed that a good exercise was spreading amongst them: and I am humbly thankful to God, who supported my mind, and preserved me in a good degree of resignation through these trials.

Thou, who sometimes travels in the work of the ministry, and art made very welcome by thy friends, seest many tokens of their satisfaction in having thee for their guest: it is good for thee to dwell deep, that thou mayest feel and understand the spirits of people.

If we believe Truth points towards a conference on some subjects, in a private way, it is needful for us to take heed that their kindness, their freedom and affability, do not hinder us from the Lord's work. I have seen, that in the midst of kindness and smooth conduct, to speak close and home to them who entertain us, on points that relate to their outward interest, is hard labour; and some times, when I have felt Truth lead toward it, I have found myself disqualified by a superficial friendship: and as the sense thereof hath abased me, and my cries have been to the Lord, so I have been humbled and made content to appear weak, or as a fool for his sake; and thus a door hath opened to enter upon it. To attempt to do the Lord's work in our own will, and to speak of that which is the burden of the word, in a way easy to the natural part, doth not reach the bottom of the disorder. To see the failings of our friends, and think hard of them, without opening that which we ought to open, and still carry a face of friendship,—this tends to undermine the foundation of true unity.

The office of a minister of Christ is weighty; and they who now go forth as watchmen, had need to be steadily on their guard against the snares of prosperity and an outside friendship.

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After the Yearly Meeting was over, we were at meetings at Newtown, Accushnet, Long Plain, Rochester and Dartmouth. From thence we sailed for Nantucket, in company with Ann Gaunt and Mercy Redman, and several other friends. The wind being slack, we only reached Tarpauling Cove the first day; where, going on shore, we found room in a public house, and beds for a few of us, the rest sleeping on the floor. We went on board again about break of day; and though the wind was small, we were favoured to come within about four miles of Nantucket; and then about ten of us getting into our boat, we rowed to the harbour before dark: whereupon a large whale-boat going off, brought in the rest of the pas-

sengers about midnight. The next day but one was their Yearly Meeting, which held four days; the last of which, was their monthly meeting for business. We had a laborious time amongst them; our minds were closely exercised; and I believe it was a time of great searching of heart. The longer I was on the island, the more I became sensible that there was a considerable number of valuable Friends there; tho' an evil spirit, tending to strife, had been at work amongst them. I was cautious of making any visits but as my mind was particularly drawn to them; and in that way we had some sittings in Friends houses, where the heavenly wing was at times spread over us, to our mutual comfort. My beloved companion had very acceptable service on this island.

When meeting was over, we all agreed to sail the next day, if the weather was suitable and we well: and being called up the latter part of the night, we went on board a vessel, being in all about fifty; but the wind changing, the seamen thought best to stay in the harbour till it altered; so we returned on shore: and feeling clear as to any further visits, I spent my time in our chamber chiefly alone. And after some hours, my heart being filled with the spirit of supplication, my prayers and tears were poured out before my heavenly Father, for his help and instruction in the manifold difficulties which attended me in life. While I was waiting upon the Lord, there came a messenger from the women Friends, who lodged at another house, desiring to confer with us about appointing a meeting; which to me appeared weighty, as we had been at so many before: but after a short conference, and advising with some elderly Friends, a meeting was appointed; in which the Friend who first moved it, and who had been much shut up before, was largely opened in the love of the gospel. And the next morning, about break of day, going again on board the vessel, we reached Falmouth on the Main before night; where our horses being brought, we proceeded toward Sandwich Quarterly meeting.

Being two days in going to Nantucket, and having been there once before, I observed many shoals in their bay, which make sailing more dangerous, especially in stormy nights; also that a great shoal which encloses their harbour, prevents their going in with sloops, except when the tide is up. Waiting outside of this shoal, for the rising of the tide, is sometimes hazardous in storms; and waiting within, they sometimes miss a fair wind. I took notice, that on that small island was a great number of inhabitants, and the soil not very fertile; the timber so gone, that for vessels, fences, and firewood, they depend chiefly on buying from the Main; the cost whereof, with most of their other expenses, they depend principally upon the whale fishery to answer. I considered, that as towns grew larger, and lands near navigable waters more cleared, timber and wood would require more labour to get it. I understood that the whales being much hunted, and sometimes wounded and not killed, grew more shy and difficult to come at. I considered that the formation of the earth, the seas, the islands, bays and rivers, the motions of the winds and great waters, which cause bars and shoals in particular places,—were all the works of Him who is perfect wisdom and goodness; and as people attend to his heavenly instructions, and put their trust in him, he provides for them in all parts where he gives them a being.

And as in this visit to these people, I felt a strong desire for their firm establishment on the sure foundation,—besides what was said more publicly, I was concerned to speak with the women Friends, in their monthly meeting of business, many being present; and in the fresh spring of pure love, to open before them the advantage, both inward and outward, of attending singly to the pure guidance of the Holy Spirit, and therein to educate their children in true humility, and the disuse of all superfluities; reminding them of the difficulties their husbands and sons were frequently exposed to at sea; and that the more plain

and simple their way of living was, the less need of running great hazards to support them in it;—encouraging the young women in their neat, decent way of attending themselves on the affairs of the house:—showing, as the way opened, that where people were truly humble, used themselves to business and were content with a plain way of life, that it had ever been attended with more true peace and calmness of mind, than those have had, who, aspiring to greatness and outward show, have grasped hard for an income to support themselves in it. And as I observed they had few or no slaves amongst them, I had to encourage them to be content without them; making mention of the numerous troubles and vexations, which frequently attend the minds of people who depend on slaves to do their labour.

We attended the Quarterly meeting at Sandwich, in company with Ann Gaunt and Mercy Redman, which was preceded by a monthly meeting; and in the whole held three days. We were various ways exercised amongst them, in gospel love, according to the several gifts bestowed on us; and were, at times, overshadowed with the virtue of Truth, to the comfort of the sincere, and stirring up of the negligent. Here we parted with Ann and Mercy, and went to Rhode Island, taking one meeting in our way, which was a satisfactory time; and reaching Newport the evening before their Quarterly meeting, we attended it; and after that, had a meeting with our young people, separated from those of other societies. We had gone through much labour in this town; and now, in taking leave of it, though I felt close inward exercise to the last, I found inward peace; and was, in some degree comforted in a belief that a good number remain in that place, who retain a sense of Truth; and that there are some young people attentive to the voice of the heavenly Shepherd. The last meeting in which Friends from the several parts of the Quarter came together, was a select meeting; and through

the renewed manifestations of the Father's love, the hearts of the sincere were united together.

That poverty of spirit and inward weakness, with which I was much tried the fore part of this journey, has of late appeared to me as a dispensation of kindness. Appointing meetings never felt more weighty to me; and I was led into a deep search, whether in all things my mind was resigned to the will of God; often querying with myself, what should be the cause of such inward poverty; and greatly desiring that no secret reserve in my heart might hinder my access to the Divine fountain. In these humbling times I was made watchful and attentive to the deep movings of the heavenly principle in my mind, which prepared the way to some duties, that in more easy and prosperous times, as to the outward, I believe I should have been in danger of omitting.

From Newport we went to Greenwich, Shanticut, and Warwick; and were helped to labour amongst Friends in the love of our gracious Redeemer: and then, accompanied by our friend John Casey from Newport, we rode through Connecticut to Oblong,—visited the meetings of Friends in those parts, and thence proceeded to the Quarterly meeting at Ryewoods: and through the gracious extendings of Divine help, had some seasoning opportunities in those places. We then visited Friends at New York and Flushing; and thence to Rahway. Here, our roads parting, I took leave of my beloved companion and true yoke-mate, Samuel Eastburn; and reached home on the 10th day of the 8th month, 1760, where I found my family well: and for the favours and protection of the Lord, both inward and outward, extended to me in this journey, my heart is humbled in grateful acknowledgments; and I feel a renewed engagement to dwell and walk in resignedness before him.

## CHAPTER VIII.

His visits to Pennsylvania, Shrewsbury and Squan—His publishing the second part of his considerations on keeping negroes—The grounds of his appearing in some respects singular in his dress—His visiting the families of Friends of Ancocas and Mount Holly meetings—His visits to the Indians at Wehaloosing on the river Susquehannah.

Having felt my mind drawn toward a visit to a few meetings in Pennsylvania, I was very desirous to be rightly instructed as to the time of setting off: and on the 10th day of the 5th month, 1761, being the first day of the week, I went to Haddonfield meeting; concluding to seek for heavenly instruction, and come home or go on, as I might then believe best for me; and there, through the springing up of pure love, I felt encouragement, and so crossed the river. In this visit I was at two Quarterly and three monthly meetings; and in the love of Truth, felt my way open to labour with some noted Friends who kept negroes. And as I was favoured to keep to the root, and endeavoured to discharge what I believed was required of me, I found inward peace therein, from time to time; and thankfulness of heart to the Lord, who was graciously pleased to be a guide to me.

In the 8th month, 1761, having felt drawings in my mind to visit Friends in and about Shrewsbury, I went there, and was at their monthly meeting, and their first-day meeting; and had a meeting at Squan, and another at Squankum; and as way opened, I had conversation in the fear of the Lord, with some noted Friends concerning their slaves; and returned home in a thankful sense of the goodness of God.

From the care I felt growing in me some years, I wrote Considerations on keeping Negroes, part the second; which was printed this year, 1762. When the overseers of the press had done with it, they of-

ferred to get a number printed to be paid for out of the Yearly Meeting stock, and to be given away: but I being most easy to publish them at my own expense, and offering my reasons, they appeared satisfied.

This stock is the contribution of the members of our religious society in general; amongst whom are many who keep negroes, and some of them being resolved to continue them in slavery, are not likely to be satisfied with those books being spread amongst a people where many of the slaves are taught to read; and especially not at their expense; and such often receiving them as a gift, conceal them. But as they who make a purchase, generally buy that which they have a mind for, I believed it best to sell them; expecting, by that means, they would more generally be read with attention. Advertisements being signed by order of the overseers of the press, were directed to be read in monthly meetings of business within our own Yearly Meeting, informing where the books were, and that the price was no more than the cost of printing and binding them. Many were taken off in our parts; some I sent to Virginia, some to New York, and some to Newport, to my acquaintance there; and some I kept, expecting to give part of them away, where there appeared a prospect of service.

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In my youth I was used to hard labour; and though I was middling healthy, yet my nature was not fitted to endure so much as many others: that being often weary, I was prepared to sympathize with those whose circumstances in life, as free men, required constant labour to answer the demands of their creditors; and with others under oppression. In the uneasiness of body, which I have many times felt by too much labour, not as a forced but a voluntary oppression, I have often been excited to think on the original cause of that oppression which is imposed on many in the world. And the latter part of the time wherein I laboured on our plantation, my heart,



through the fresh visitations of heavenly love, being often tender; and my leisure time frequently spent in reading the life and doctrines of our blessed Redeemer, the account of the sufferings of martyrs, and the history of the first rise of our society; a belief was gradually settled in my mind, that if such who had great estates, generally lived in that humility and plainness which belongs to a christian life, and laid much easier rents and interests on their lands and monies, and thus led the way to a right use of things,—so great a number of people might be employed in things useful, that labour both for men and other creatures would need to be no more than an agreeable employ; and divers branches of business, which serve chiefly to please the natural inclinations of our minds, and which at present, seems necessary to circulate that wealth which some gather, might in this way of pure wisdom, be discontinued. And as I have thus considered these things, a query at times, hath arisen; Do I, in all my proceedings, keep to that use of things which is agreeable to universal righteousness? And then, there hath some degree of sadness, at times, come over me; for that I accustomed myself to some things, which occasioned more labour than I believe Divine wisdom intends for us.

From my early acquaintance with Truth, I have often felt an inward distress, occasioned by the striving of a spirit in me, against the operation of the heavenly principle; and in this circumstance I have been affected with a sense of my own wretchedness, and in a mourning condition felt earnest longing for that Divine help which brings the soul into true liberty. And some times, in this state, retiring into private places, the spirit of supplication hath been given me; and under a heavenly covering, I have asked my gracious Father to give me a heart in all things resigned to the direction of his wisdom: and in uttering language like this, the thoughts of my wearing hats and garments dyed with a dye hurtful to them, has made lasting impressions on me.

In visiting people of note in the society who had slaves, and labouring with them in brotherly love on that account, I have seen, and the sight has affected me, that a conformity to some customs, distinguishable from pure wisdom, has entangled many; and the desire of gain to support these customs, greatly opposed the work of Truth. And sometimes when the prospect of the work before me has been such, that in bowedness of spirit I have been drawn into retired places, and besought the Lord with tears that he would take me wholly under his direction, and show me the way in which I ought to walk;—it hath revived with strength of conviction, that if I would be his faithful servant, I must in all things attend to his wisdom, and be teachable; and so cease from all customs contrary thereto, however used amongst religious people.

As He is the perfection of power, of wisdom, and of goodness; so, I believe, he hath provided that so much labour shall be necessary for men's support in this world, as would, being rightly divided, be a suitable employment of their time; and that we cannot go into superfluities, or grasp after wealth in a way contrary to his wisdom, without having connection with some degree of oppression, and with that spirit which leads to self exaltation and strife, and which frequently brings calamities on countries, by parties contending about their claims.

Being thus fully convinced, and feeling an increasing desire to live in the spirit of peace;—being often sorrowfully affected, in thinking on the unquiet spirit in which wars are generally carried on, and with the miseries of many of my fellow-creatures engaged therein: some suddenly destroyed; some wounded, and after much pain remain cripples; some deprived of all their outward substance and reduced to want; and some carried into captivity. Thinking often on these things, the use of hats and garments dyed with a dye hurtful to them, and wearing more clothes in summer than are useful, grew more uneasy to me;

believing them to be customs which have not their foundation in pure wisdom. The apprehension of being singular from my beloved friends, was a strait upon me; and thus I remained in the use of some things contrary to my judgment.

On the 31st day of the 5th month, 1761, I was taken ill of a fever; and after having it near a week, I was in great distress of body: and one day there was a cry raised in me, that I might understand the cause why I was afflicted, and improve under it. And my conformity to some customs which I believed were not right, were brought to my remembrance: and in the continuation of the exercise, I felt all the powers in me yield themselves up into the hands of Him who gave me being; and was made thankful that he had taken hold of me by his chastisement. Feeling the necessity of further purifying, there was now no desire in me for health, until the design of my correction was answered; and thus I lay in abasement and brokenness of spirit. And as I felt a sinking down into a calm resignation, so I felt, as in an instant, an inward healing in my nature; and from that time forward I grew better.

Though I was thus settled in my mind in relation to hurtful dyes, I felt easy to wear my garments heretofore made; and so continued about nine months. Then I thought of getting a hat the natural colour of the fur; but the apprehension of being looked upon as one affecting singularity, felt uneasy to me. And here I had occasion to consider, that things, though small in themselves, being clearly enjoined by Divine authority as a duty, became great things to us; and I trusted that the Lord would support me in the trials that might attend singularity, while that singularity was only for his sake. On this account, I was under close exercise of mind in the time of our general Spring meeting, 1762, greatly desiring to be rightly directed; when, being deeply bowed in spirit before the Lord, I was made willing to submit to what I apprehended.

was required of me: and when I returned home, got a hat of the natural colour of the fur.

In attending meetings, this singularity was a trial upon me; and more especially at this time, white hats being used by some who were fond of following the changeable modes of dress. And as some Friends, who knew not of what motive I wore it, carried shy of me, I felt my way for a time shut up in the exercise of the ministry: and in this condition, my mind being turned toward my heavenly Father, with fervent cries that I might be preserved to walk before him in the meekness of wisdom, my heart was often tender in meetings; and I felt an inward consolation, which to me was very precious under those difficulties.

I had several dyed garments fit for use, which I believed it best to wear, till I had occasion of new ones. And as some Friends were apprehensive that my wearing such a hat savoured of an affected singularity, such who spake with me in a friendly way, I generally informed in a few words, that I believed my wearing it was not in my own will. I had at times been sensible, that a superficial friendship had been dangerous to me; and many Friends being now uneasy with me, I had an inclination to acquaint some with the manner of my being led into these things; yet, upon a deeper thought, I was for a time most easy to omit it; believing the present dispensation was profitable; and trusting, that if I kept my place, the Lord in his own time would open the hearts of Friends towards me. Since which, I have had cause to admire his goodness and loving kindness, in leading about and instructing, and opening and enlarging my heart in some of our meetings.

In the 11th month, 1762, feeling an engagement of mind to visit some families in Mansfield, I joined my beloved friend Benjamin Jones, and we spent a few days together in that service. In the 2d month, 1763, I joined in company with Elizabeth Smith and Mary Noble, on a visit to the families of Friends at Anco-

cas; in both which visits, through the baptizing power of Truth, the sincere labourers were often comforted, and the hearts of Friends opened to receive us. And in the 4th month following, I accompanied some Friends in a visit to the families of Friends in Mount Holly; in which my mind was often drawn into an inward awfulness, wherein strong desires were raised for the everlasting welfare of my fellow-creatures; and through the kindness of our heavenly Father, our hearts were at times enlarged, and Friends invited in the flowings of Divine love to attend to that which would settle them on the sure foundation.

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Having many years felt love in my heart towards the natives of this land, who dwell far back in the wilderness, whose ancestors were the owners and possessors of the land where we dwell, and who for a very small consideration, assigned their inheritance to us: and being at Philadelphia in the 8th month, 1761, on a visit to some Friends who had slaves; I fell in company with some of those natives who lived on the east branch of the river Susquehannah, at an Indian town called Wehaloosing, two hundred miles from Philadelphia; and in conversation with them by an interpreter, as also by observations on their countenances and conduct, I believed some of them were measurably acquainted with that Divine power which subjects the rough and froward will of the creature. And at times, I felt inward drawings toward a visit to that place, of which I told none except my dear wife, until it came to some ripeness; and then in the winter, 1762, I laid it before Friends at our monthly and Quarterly, and afterwards at our general Spring meeting. And having the unity of Friends, and being thoughtful about an Indian pilot, there came a man and three women from a little beyond that town to Philadelphia on business; and I being informed thereof by letter, met them in town in the 5th month, 1763; and after some conversation, finding they were sober people, I, with the concurrence of

Friends in that place, agreed to join with them as companions on their return: and on the 7th day of the 6th month following, we appointed to meet at Samuel Foulke's, at Richland, in Bucks county.

Now as this visit felt very weighty, and was performed at a time when travelling appeared perilous, so the dispensations of Divine Providence, in preparing my mind for it, have been memorable; and I believe it good for me to give some hints thereof.

After I had given up to go, the thoughts of the journey were often attended with unusual sadness; in which times my heart was frequently turned to the Lord with inward breathings for his heavenly support, that I might not fail to follow him wheresoever he might lead me. And being at our youth's meeting at Chesterfield, about a week before the time I expected to set off, was there led to speak on that prayer of Jesus Christ to his Father: "I pray not that thou shouldst take them out of the world, but that thou shouldst keep them from the evil." And in attending to the pure openings of Truth, had to mention what he elsewhere said to his Father; "I know that thou hearest me at all times." So that, as some of his followers kept their places, and as his prayer was granted, it followed necessarily that they were kept from evil. And as some of them met with great hardships and afflictions in this world, and at last suffered death by cruel men; it appears, that whatsoever befalls men while they live in pure obedience to God, as it certainly works for their good, so it may not be considered an evil as it relates to them. As I spake on this subject, my heart was much tendered, and great awfulness came over me. And then, on the first day of the next week, being at our own afternoon meeting, and my heart being enlarged in love, I was led to speak on the care and protection of the Lord over his people, and to make mention of that passage where a band of Assyrians endeavouring to take captive the prophet, were disappointed; and how the psalmist said, "the angel of the Lord encampeth round about them

that fear him." And thus, in true love and tenderness, I parted from Friends, expecting the next morning to proceed on my journey; and being weary, went early to bed. After I had been asleep a short time, I was awakened by a man calling at my door; and arising, was invited to meet some Friends at a public house in our town, who came from Philadelphia so late, that Friends were generally gone to bed. These Friends informed me, that an express arrived the last morning from Pittsburgh, and brought news that the Indians had taken a fort from the English, westward, and slain and scalped English people in divers places, some near the said Pittsburgh; and that some elderly Friends in Philadelphia, knowing the time of my expecting to set off, had conferred together, and thought good to inform me of these things before I left home, that I might consider them, and proceed as I believed best: so I, going again to bed, told not my wife till morning. My heart was turned to the Lord for his heavenly instruction; and it was a humbling time to me. When I told my dear wife, she appeared to be deeply concerned about it: but in a few hours time, my mind became settled in a belief, that it was my duty to proceed on my journey; and she bore it with a good degree of resignation. In this conflict of spirit, there were great searchings of heart, and strong cries to the Lord, that no motion might be in the least degree attended to, but that of the pure spirit of Truth.

The subjects before-mentioned, on which I had so lately spoken in public, were now very fresh before me; and I was brought inwardly to commit myself to the Lord, to be disposed of as he saw good. So I took leave of my family and neighbours, in much bowedness of spirit, and went to our monthly meeting at Burlington; and after taking leave of Friends there, I crossed the river, accompanied by my friends Israel and John Pemberton; and parting the next morning with Israel, John bore me company to Sam'l Foulke's; where I met the before-mentioned Indians, and we were glad to see each other. Here my beloved friend

Benjamin Parvin, met me, and proposed joining as a companion; we having passed some letters before on the subject. And now, on his account, I had a sharp trial; for as the journey appeared perilous, I thought if he went chiefly to bear me company, and we should be taken captives, my having been the means of drawing him into these difficulties, would add to my own afflictions. So I told him my mind freely, and let him know that I was resigned to go alone; but after all, if he really believed it to be his duty to go on, I believed his company would be very comfortable to me. It was indeed a time of deep exercise, and Benjamin appeared to be so fastened to the visit, that he could not be easy to leave me.

So we went on, accompanied by our friends John Pemberton, and William Lightfoot of Pikeland, and lodged at Bethlehem; and there parting with John, William and we went forward on the 9th day of the 6th month, and got lodging on the floor of a house about five miles from Fort Allen. Here we parted with William: and at this place we met with an Indian trader, lately come from Wyoming; and in conversation with him, I perceived that many white people do often sell rum to the Indians, which, I believe, is a great evil: First, they being thereby deprived of the use of their reason, and their spirits violently agitated, quarrels often arise which end in mischief; and the bitterness and resentments occasioned hereby, are frequently of long continuance: again, their skins and furs, gotten through much fatigue and hard travels in hunting, with which they intended to buy clothing; when they become intoxicated they often sell at a low rate for more rum; and afterward, when they suffer for want of the necessaries of life, are angry with those who, for the sake of gain, took the advantage of their weakness. Of this their chiefs have often complained, at their treaties with the English.

Where cunning people pass counterfeits, and impose that on others which is good for nothing, it is considered as a wickedness; but to sell that to people which



we know does them harm, and which often works their ruin, for the sake of gain, manifests a hardened and corrupt heart; and is an evil which demands the care of all true lovers of virtue to suppress. And while my mind, this evening, was thus employed, I also remembered that the people on the frontiers, among whom this evil is too common, are often poor; who venture to the outside of a colony, that they may live more independent on such who are wealthy, who often set high rents on their land. Being renewedly confirmed in a belief, that if all our inhabitants lived according to pure wisdom, labouring to promote universal love and righteousness, and ceased from every inordinate desire after wealth, and from all customs which are tinged with luxury,—the way would be easy for our inhabitants, though much more numerous than at present, to live comfortably on honest employments, without having that temptation they are often under of being drawn into schemes to make settlements on lands which have not been honestly purchased of the Indians, or of applying to that wicked practice of selling rum to them.

On the 10th day of the 6th month, we set out early in the morning, and crossed the western branch of Delaware, called the Great Lehigh, near Fort Allen; the water being high, we went over in a canoe. Here we met an Indian and had some friendly conversation with him, and gave him some biscuit; and he having killed a deer, gave the Indians with us some of it.— Then, after travelling some miles, we met several Indian men and women with a cow and horse, and some household goods, who were lately come from their dwelling at Wyoming, and going to settle at another place. We made them some small presents; and some of them understanding English, I told them my motive in coming into their country; with which they appeared satisfied: and one of our guides talking a while with an ancient woman concerning us, the poor old woman came to my companion and me, and took her leave of us with an appearance of sincere

affection. So going on, we pitched our tent near the banks of the same river, having laboured hard in crossing some of those mountains called the Blue Ridge; and by the roughness of the stones, and the cavities between them, and the steepness of the hills, it appeared dangerous: but we were preserved in safety, through the kindness of him whose works in those mountainous deserts appeared awful;—toward whom my heart was turned during this day's travel.

Near our tent, on the sides of large trees peeled for that purpose, were various representations of men going to, and returning from the wars, and of some killed in battle: this being a path heretofore used by warriors. And as I walked about viewing those Indian histories, which were painted mostly in red, but some with black,—and thinking on the innumerable afflictions which the proud, fierce spirit produceth in the world;—thinking on the toils and fatigues of warriors, travelling over mountains and deserts;—thinking on their miseries and distresses when wounded far from home by their enemies;—and of their bruises and great weariness in chasing one another over the rocks and mountains;—and of their restless, unquiet state of mind, who live in this spirit;—and of the hatred which mutually grows up in the minds of the children of those nations engaged in war with each other: during these meditations, the desire to cherish the spirit of love and peace amongst these people, arose very fresh in me.

This was the first night that we lodged in the woods: and being wet with travelling in the rain, the ground and our tent wet, and the bushes which we purposed to lay under our blankets being also wet, all looked discouraging; but I believed that it was the Lord who had thus far brought me forward, and that he would dispose of me as he saw good, and therein I felt easy. So we kindled a fire, with our tent door open to it; and with some bushes next the ground, and then our blankets, we made our bed; and lying down, got some sleep. In the morning, feeling a little unwell, I went

into the river; the water was cold, but soon after I felt fresh and well.

The 11th of 6th month, the bushes being wet, we tarried in our tent till about eight o'clock; then going on, we crossed a high mountain, supposed to be upwards of four miles over; the steepness of the north side exceeding all the others. We also crossed two swamps; and it raining near night, we pitched our tent and lodged.

About noon, on our way, we were overtaken by one of the Moravian brethren, going to Wehaloosing, and an Indian man with him who could talk English; and we, being together while our horses eat grass, had some friendly conversation; but they travelling faster than we, soon left us. This Moravian, I understood, had spent some time this spring at Wehaloosing, and was, by some of the Indians, invited to come again.

The 12th, and first of the week, being a rainy day, we continued in our tent: and here I was led to think on the nature of the exercise which hath attended me. Love was the first motion, and thence a concern arose to spend some time with the Indians, that I might feel and understand their life, and the spirit they live in, if happily I might receive some instruction from them, or they be in any degree helped forward by my following the leadings of Truth amongst them. And as it pleased the Lord to make way for my going at a time when the troubles of war were increasing, and when, by reason of much wet weather, travelling was more difficult than usual at that season, I looked upon it as a more favourable opportunity to season my mind, and bring me into a nearer sympathy with them.— And as mine eye was to the great Father of mercies, humbly desiring to learn what his will was concerning me, I was made quiet and content.

Our guide's horse, though hopped, went away in the night; and after finding our own, and searching some time for him, his footsteps were discovered in the path going back again; whereupon my kind companion went off in the rain, and after about seven

hours, returned with him: and here we lodged again; tying up our horses before we went to bed, and loosing them to feed about break of day.

13th. The sun appearing, we set forward; and as I rode over the barren hills, my meditations were on the alterations of the circumstances of the natives of this land since the coming in of the English. The lands near the sea are conveniently situated for fishing; the lands near the rivers, where the tides flow, and some above, are in many places fertile, and not mountainous; while the running of the tides makes passing up and down easy with any kind of traffic. Those natives have, in some places, for trifling considerations, sold their inheritance so favourably situated; and in other places, been driven back by superior force. So that, in many places, as their way of clothing themselves is now altered from what it was, and they, far remote from us, have to pass over mountains, swamps, and barren deserts, where travelling is very troublesome, in bringing their skins and furs to trade with us.

By the extending of English settlements, and partly by English hunters, the wild beasts they chiefly depend on for a subsistence, are not so plenty as they were; and people too often, for the sake of gain, open a door for them to waste their skins and furs, in purchasing a liquor which tends to the ruin of them and their families.

My own will and desires being now very much broken, and my heart with much earnestness turned to the Lord, to whom alone I looked for help in the dangers before me,—I had a prospect of the English along the coast, for upwards of nine hundred miles where I have travelled; and the favourable situation of the English, and the difficulties attending the natives in many places, and the negroes, were open before me; and a weighty and heavenly care came over my mind, and love filled my heart toward all mankind, in which I felt a strong engagement that we might be obedient to the Lord, while, in tender mer-

cies, he is yet calling to us; and so attend to pure universal righteousness, as to give no just cause of offence to the Gentiles, who do not profess christianity, whether the blacks from Africa, or the native inhabitants of this continent. And here I was led into a close, laborious inquiry, whether I, as an individual, kept clear from all things which tended to stir up, or were connected with wars, either in this land or Africa; and my heart was deeply concerned that in future I might in all things keep steadily to the pure Truth, and live and walk in the plainness and simplicity of a sincere follower of Christ. And in this lonely journey, I did, this day, greatly bewail the spreading of a wrong spirit; believing that the prosperous, convenient situation of the English, requires a constant attention to Divine love and wisdom, to guide and support us in a way answerable to the will of that good, gracious, and Almighty Being, who hath an equal regard to all mankind. And here, luxury and covetousness, with the numerous oppressions and other evils attending them, appeared very afflicting to me; and I felt in that which is immutable, that the seeds of great calamity and desolation are sown and growing fast on this continent. Nor have I words sufficient to set forth that longing I then felt, that we who are placed along the coast, and have tasted the love and goodness of God, might arise in his strength; and, like faithful messengers, labour to check the growth of these seeds, that they may not ripen to the ruin of our posterity.

We reached the Indian settlement at Wyoming; and here we were told that an Indian runner had been at that place a day or two before us, and brought news of the Indians taking an English fort westward, and destroying the people; and that they were endeavouring to take another. And also, that another Indian runner came there about the middle of the night before we got there, who came from a town about ten miles above Wehaloosing, and brought news that some Indian warriors from distant parts, came to

that town with two English scalps, and told the people that it was war with the English.

Our guides took us to the house of a very ancient man; and soon after we had put in our baggage, there came a man from another Indian house some distance off; and I perceiving there was a man near the door, went out; and he having a tomahawk wrapped under his matchcoat out of sight, as I approached him, he took it in his hand. I, however, went forward, and speaking to him in a friendly way, perceived he understood some English. My companion then coming out, we had some talk with him concerning the nature of our visit in these parts; and then, he going into the house with us, and talking with our guides, soon appeared friendly, and sat down and smoked his pipe. Though his taking the hatchet in his hand at the instant I drew near to him, had a disagreeable appearance, I believed he had no other intent than to be in readiness in case any violence was offered to him.

Hearing the news brought by these Indian runners, and being told by the Indians where we lodged that what Indians were about Wyoming expected in a few days to move to some larger towns, I thought that, to all outward appearance, it was dangerous travelling at this time; and was, after a hard day's journey, brought into a painful exercise at night, in which I had to trace back, and view over the steps I had taken from my first moving in the visit. And though I had to bewail some weakness which, at times, had attended me, yet I could not find that I had ever given way to a wilful disobedience: and as I believed I had, under a sense of duty, come thus far, I was now earnest in spirit beseeching the Lord to show me what I ought to do. In this great distress I grew jealous of myself, lest the desire of reputation, as a man firmly settled to persevere through dangers, or the fear of disgrace arising on my returning without performing the visit, might have some place in me. Thus I lay, full of thoughts, great part of the night, while my beloved companion lay and slept by me; till the Lord, my

gracious Father, who saw the conflicts of my soul, was pleased to give quietness; and therein I was renewedly confirmed that it was my duty to go forward. Then I was again strengthened to commit my life, and all things relating thereto, into his heavenly hands; and getting a little sleep toward day, when morning came we arose.

On the 14th, we sought out and visited all the Indians hereabouts that we could meet with; they being chiefly in one place, about a mile from where we lodged, in all perhaps twenty. Here I expressed the care I had on my mind for their good; and told them that true love had made me willing thus to leave my home and family to come and see the Indians, and speak with them in their houses. Some of them understood English, and appeared kind and friendly. So we took our leave of these Indians, and went up the river Susquehannah, about three miles, to the house of an Indian, called Jacob January, who had killed his hog, and the women were making store of bread, and preparing to move up the river. Here our pilots left their canoe when they came down in the spring, which, lying dry, was leaky; so that we, being detained some hours, had a good deal of friendly conversation with the family; and eating dinner with them, we made them some small presents. Then putting our baggage in the canoe, some of them pushed slowly up the stream, and the rest of us rode our horses; and swimming them over a creek called Lahawahamunk, we pitched our tent a little above it, there being a shower in the evening: and in a sense of God's goodness in helping me in my distress, sustaining me under trials, and inclining my heart to trust in him, I lay down in an humble bowed frame of mind, and had a comfortable night's lodging.

On the 15th, we proceeded forward till afternoon; when a storm appearing, we met our canoe at an appointed place; and the rain continuing, we stayed all night, which was so heavy, that it beat through our tent, and wet us and our baggage.

16th. We found, on our way, abundance of trees blown down with the storm yesterday; and had occasion reverently to consider the kind dealings of the Lord, who provided a safe place for us in a valley, while this storm continued. By the falling of abundance of trees across our path, we were much hindered, and in some swamps our way was so stopped, that we got through with extreme difficulty.

I had this day often to consider myself as a sojourner in this world; and a belief in the all-sufficiency of God to support his people in their pilgrimage, felt comfortable to me; and I was industriously employed to get to a state of perfect resignation.

We seldom saw our canoe but at appointed places, by reason of the path going off from the river: and this afternoon, Job Chilaway, an Indian from Wehaloosing, who talks good English, and is acquainted with several people in and about Philadelphia, met our people on the river; and understanding where we expected to lodge, pushed back about six miles, and came to us after night; and in a while our own canoe came, it being hard work pushing up stream. Job told us that an Indian came in haste to their town yesterday, and told them that three warriors, coming from some distance, lodged in a town above Wehaloosing a few nights past; and that these three men were going against the English at Juniata. Job was going down the river to the province store at Shamokin.

Though I was so far favoured with health as to continue travelling, yet through the various difficulties in our journey, and the different way of living from what I had been used to, I grew weak: and the news of these warriors being on their march so near us, and not knowing whether we might not fall in with them, was a fresh trial of my faith. And though, through the strength of Divine love, I had several times been enabled to commit myself to the Divine disposal, I still found the want of my strength being renewed, that I might persevere therein; and my



cries for help were put up to the Lord, who, in great mercy, gave me a resigned heart, in which I found quietness.

On the 17th, parting from Job Chilaway, we went on, and reached Wehaloosing about the middle of the afternoon. The first Indian that we saw was a woman of a modest countenance, with a babe. She first spake to our guide, and then, with a harmonious voice, expressed her gladness at seeing us; having before heard of our coming. Then, by the direction of our guide, we sat down on a log; and he went to the town to tell the people we were come. My companion and I sitting thus together, in a deep inward stillness, the poor woman came and sat near us: and great awfulness coming over us, we rejoiced in a sense of God's love manifested to our poor souls. After a while, we heard a conksheil blow several times, and then came John Curtis, and another Indian man, who kindly invited us into a house near the town, where we found, I suppose, about sixty people sitting in silence. After sitting a short time, I stood up, and in some tenderness of spirit acquainted them with the nature of my visit, and that a concern for their good had made me willing to come thus far to see them: all in a few short sentences, which some of them understanding, interpreted to the others, and there appeared gladness amongst them. Then I showed them my certificate, which was explained to them; and the Moravian, who overtook us on the way, being now here, bade me welcome.

18th. We rested ourselves this forenoon; and the Indians, knowing that the Moravian and I were of different religious societies, and as some of their people had encouraged him to come and stay a while with them, were, I believe, concerned that no jarring or discord might be in their meetings. And they, I suppose, having conferred together, acquainted me that the people, at my request, would at any time come together and hold meetings; and also told me that they expected the Moravian would speak in their

settled meetings, which are commonly held morning and near evening. So I found liberty in my heart to speak to the Moravian, and told him of the care I felt on my mind for the good of these people; and that I believed no ill effects would follow it, if I sometimes spake in their meetings when love engaged me thereto, without calling them together at times when they did not meet of course: whereupon he expressed his good-will toward my speaking at any time, all that I found in my heart to say. So, near evening I was at their meeting, where the pure gospel love was felt, to the tendering some of our hearts; and the interpreters endeavouring to acquaint the people with what I said, in short sentences, found some difficulty, as none of them were quite perfect in the English and Delaware tongues; so they helped one another, and we laboured along, Divine love attending: and afterwards, feeling my mind covered with the spirit of prayer, I told the interpreters that I found it in my heart to pray to God, and believed, if I prayed aright, he would hear me; and expressed my willingness for them to omit interpreting. So our meeting ended with a degree of Divine love: and before the people went out, I observed Papunehang (the man who had been zealous in labouring for a reformation in that town, being then very tender) spoke to one of the interpreters; and I was afterwards told that he said in substance as follows; "I love to feel where words come from."

19th of 6th month, and first of the week. This morning in the meeting the Indian who came with the Moravian, being also a member of that society, prayed; and then the Moravian spake a short time to the people. And in the afternoon, they coming together, and my heart being filled with a heavenly care for their good, I spake to them awhile by interpreters; but none of them being perfect in the work, and I feeling the current of love run strong, told the interpreters that I believed some of the people would understand me, and so I proceeded: in which exercise I believe the Holy Spirit wrought on some hearts to

edification, where all the words were not understood. I looked upon it as a time of Divine favour, and my heart was tendered and truly thankful before the Lord: and after I sat down, one of the interpreters seemed spirited to give the Indians the substance of what I had said.

Before our first meeting this morning, I was led to meditate on the manifold difficulties of these Indians, who, by the permission of the Six Nations, dwell in these parts; and a near sympathy with them was raised in me; and my heart being enlarged in the love of God, I thought that the affectionate care of a good man for his only brother in affliction, does not exceed what I then felt for that people.

I came to this place through much trouble; and though, through the mercies of God, I believed that if I died in the journey, it would be well with me; yet the thoughts of falling into the hands of Indian warriors, were, in times of weakness, afflicting to me. And being of a tender constitution of body, the thoughts of captivity amongst them were, at times, grievous; as supposing that they, being strong and hardy, might demand service of me beyond what I could well bear; but the Lord alone was my helper; and I believed, if I went into captivity, it would be for some good end: and thus, from time to time, my mind was centred in resignation, in which I always found quietness. And now, this day, though I had the same dangerous wilderness between me and home, I was inwardly joyful that the Lord had strengthened me to come on this visit, and manifested a fatherly care over me in my poor lowly condition, when in mine own eyes I appeared inferior to many amongst the Indians.

When the last mentioned meeting was ended, it being night, Papunehang went to bed; and one of the interpreters sitting by me, I observed Papunehang spoke with an harmonious voice, I suppose, a minute or two: and asking the interpreter, was told that he was expressing his thankfulness to God for the favours

he had received that day; and prayed that he would continue to favour him with that same which he had experienced in that meeting. Although Papunehang had before agreed to receive the Moravian, and to join with them, he still appeared kind and loving to us.

On the 20th, I was at two meetings, and silent in them. 21st. This morning in meeting my heart was enlarged in pure love amongst them, and in short plain sentences I expressed several things that rested upon me; which one of the interpreters gave the people pretty readily. After which, the meeting ended in supplication, and I had cause humbly to acknowledge the loving-kindness of the Lord toward us; and then I believed that a door remained open for the faithful disciples of Jesus Christ, to labour amongst these people.

I now feeling my mind at liberty to return, took my leave of them in general, at the conclusion of what I said in meeting; and so we prepared to go homeward. But some of their most active men told us, that when we were ready to move, the people would choose to come and shake hands with us; which those who usually came to meeting did: and from a secret draught in my mind, I went amongst some who did not use to go to meeting, and took my leave of them also; and the Moravian and his Indian interpreter appeared respectful to us at parting.

This town stands on the bank of Susquehannah, and consists, I believe, of about forty houses, mostly compact together; some about thirty feet long, and eighteen wide, some bigger, some less; mostly built of split plank, one end set in the ground, and the other pinned to a plate, on which lay rafters, and covered with bark. I understand a great flood last winter overflowed the chief part of the ground where the town stands; and some were now about moving their houses to higher ground.

We expected only two Indians to be our company; but when we were ready to go, we found many of them were going to Bethlehem with skins and furs,

who chose to go in company with us. So they loaded two canoes, which they desired us to go in, telling us that the waters were so raised with the rains that the horses should be taken by such who were better acquainted with the fording places. So we, with several Indians, went in the canoes, and others went on horses, there being seven besides ours; and we met with the horsemen once on the way by appointment, and then again near night, a little below a branch called Tankannah; so we lodged there; and some of the young men going out a little before dusk with their guns, brought in a deer.

On the 22d, through diligence, we reached Wyoming before night, and understood the Indians were mostly gone from this place. Here we went up a small creek into the woods with our canoes, and pitching our tent, carried out our baggage; and before dark our horses came to us.

23d. In the morning their horses were loaded, and we prepared our baggage and so set forward, being in all fourteen; and with diligent travelling were favoured to get near half way to Fort Allen. The land on this road from Wyoming to our frontier being mostly poor, and good grass scarce, they chose a piece of low ground to lodge on, as the best for grazing; and I, having sweat much in travelling, and being weary, slept sound. I perceived in the night that I had taken cold, of which I was favoured to get better soon.

24th. We passed Fort Allen, and lodged near it in the woods; having forded the westerly branch of Delaware three times, and thereby had a shorter way, and missed going over the highest part of the Blue Mountains, called the Second Ridge. In the second time fording, where the river cuts through the mountain, the waters being rapid and pretty deep, and my companion's mare being a tall tractable animal, he sundry times drove her back through the river, and they loaded her with the burdens of some small horses, which they thought not sufficient to come thro' with their loads.

The troubles westward, and the difficulty for Indians to pass through our frontier, I apprehend was one reason why so many came; as expecting that our being in company, would prevent the outside inhabitants from being surprised.

25th. We reached Bethlehem, taking care on the way to keep foremost, and to acquaint people on and near the road who these Indians were. This we found very needful; for the frontier inhabitants were often alarmed at the report of English being killed by Indians westward.

Amongst our company were some who I did not remember to have seen at meeting, and some of these at first were very reserved; but we being several days together, and behaving friendly toward them, and making them suitable returns for the services they did us, they became more free and sociable.

On the 26th of 6th month, and first of the week, having carefully endeavoured to settle all affairs with the Indians relative to our journey, we took leave of them, and I thought they generally parted with us affectionately. So we, getting to Richland, had a very comfortable meeting amongst our friends. Here I parted with my kind friend and companion, Benjamin Parvin; and, accompanied by my friend Samuel Foulke, we rode to John Cadwallader's, from whence I reached home the next day, where I found my family middling well. And they and my friends all along appeared glad to see me return from a journey which they apprehended dangerous: but my mind, while I was out, had been so employed in striving for a perfect resignation, and I had so often been confirmed in a belief that whatever the Lord might be pleased to allot for me, would work for good, that I was now careful lest I should admit any degree of selfishness in being glad overmuch, and laboured to improve by those trials in such a manner as my gracious Father and protector intends for me.

Between the English inhabitants and Wehaloosing, we had only a narrow path, which in many places is

much grown up with bushes, and interrupted by abundance of trees lying across it; these, together with the mountains, swamps, and rough stones, make it a difficult road to travel; and the more so, for that rattlesnakes abound there, of which we killed four: so that people who have never been in such places, have but an imperfect idea of them. But I was not only taught patience, but also made thankful to God, who thus led me about and instructed me, that I might have a quick and lively feeling of the afflictions of my fellow-creatures, whose situation in life is difficult.

## CHAPTER IX.

His religious conversation with a company met to see the tricks of a Juggler—His account of John Smith's advice, and of the proceedings of a committee at the Yearly Meeting in 1764—Contemplations on the nature of true wisdom, occasioned by hearing of the cruelty of the Indians to their captives—His visiting the families of Friends at Mount Holly, Mansfield and Burlington in 1764, and the meetings on the sea coast from Cape May toward Squan in 1765—His visit to the lower counties on Delaware and the Eastern Shore of Maryland in 1766, in company with John Sleeper; with some account of Joseph Nichols and his followers; and observations on the different state of the first settlers in Pennsylvania who depended on their own labour, and those of the southern provinces who kept Negroes—His visiting the northern parts of New Jersey the same year, and the western parts of Maryland and Pennsylvania in 1767, and afterwards other parts of Pennsylvania, and the families of Friends at Mount Holly; and again several parts of Maryland in 1768—Further considerations on keeping Slaves; and his concern for having formerly, as an executor, been party to the sale of one; and what he did in consequence of it—Thoughts on Friends exercising offices in civil government.

The latter part of the summer, 1763, there came a man to Mount Holly, who had before published, by a printed advertisement, that at a certain public house, he would show many wonderful operations, which he therein enumerated.

This man, at the time appointed, did, by slight of hand, sundry things; which, to those gathered, appeared strange.

The next day, I hearing of it, and understanding that the show was to be continued the next night, and the people to meet about sunset, felt an exercise on that account: so I went to the public house in the evening, and told the man of the house that I had an inclination to spend a part of the evening there; with which he signified that he was content. Then, sitting down by the door, I spake to the people as they came together, concerning this show: and more coming and sitting down with us, the seats at the door were mostly filled; and I had conversation with them



in the fear of the Lord, and laboured to convince them that thus assembling to see those tricks or slights of hand, and bestowing their money to support men, who in that capacity were of no use in the world, was contrary to the nature of the christian religion.

There was one of the company who, for a time, endeavoured by arguments to show the reasonableness of their proceedings herein; but after considering some texts of scripture, and calmly debating the matter, he gave up the point. So, having spent about an hour amongst them, and feeling my mind easy, I departed.

At our Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia, on the 25th of the 9th month, 1764, John Smith of Marlborough, Chester county, aged upwards of eighty years, a faithful minister, though not eloquent, stood up in our meeting of ministers and elders, and appearing to be under a great exercise of spirit, informed Friends in substance as follows: That he had been a member of the society upward of sixty years, and well remembered that in those early times Friends were a plain lowly-minded people; and that there was much tenderness and contrition in their meetings—That at the end of twenty years from that time, the society increasing in wealth, and in some degree conforming to the fashions of the world, true humility was less apparent, and their meetings in general were not so lively and edifying—That at the end of forty years, many of them were grown very rich; that wearing of fine costly garments, and using of silver and other watches, with fashionable furniture, became customary with them, their sons, and their daughters, and many of the society made a specious appearance in the world. And as these things prevailed in the society, and appeared in our meetings of ministers and elders; so the powerful overshadowings of the Holy Spirit were less manifested amongst us—That there had been a continued increase of outward greatness even until now; and that the weakness amongst us in

not living up to our principles, and supporting the testimony of Truth in faithfulness,—was matter of much sorrow.

He then mentioned the uncertainty of his attending Yearly Meetings in future,\* expecting his dissolution was near. And as pious parents, finally departing from their families, express their last and fervent desires for their good,—so did he most tenderly express his concern for us; and signified that he had seen in the true Light, that the Lord would bring forth his people from that worldly spirit, into which too many were thus degenerated; but that his faithful servants must go through great and heavy exercises before this work was brought about.

On the 29th, the committee appointed by the Yearly Meeting to visit the Quarterly and monthly meetings, now gave an account in writing of their proceedings in that service; in which they signified, that in the course of it, they had been apprehensive that some persons holding offices in government, inconsistent with our principles; and others who kept slaves, remaining active members in our meetings of discipline, had been one means of weakness more and more prevailing in the management thereof in some places. After this report was read, an exercise revived on my mind, which, at times, had attended me several years, and inward cries to the Lord were raised in me, that the fear of man might not prevent me from doing what he required of me; and so standing up in his fear, I spake in substance as follows: I have felt a tenderness in my mind toward persons, in two circumstances mentioned in that report: that is, toward such active members who keep slaves, and such who hold offices in civil government; and have desired, that Friends in all their conduct may be kindly affectioned one toward another. Many Friends who keep slaves, are under some exercise on that account; and, at times, think about trying them with freedom;

\* It was the last Yearly Meeting he attended.

but find many things in their way: and the way of living, and annual expenses of some of them are such, that it seems impracticable for them to set their slaves free, without changing their own way of life. It has been my lot to be often abroad; and I have observed in some places, at Quarterly and Yearly Meetings, and at some houses where travelling Friends and their horses are often entertained, that the yearly expense of individuals therein is very considerable: and Friends in some places crowding much on persons in these circumstances for entertainment, hath often rested as a burden on my mind for some years past; and I now express it in the fear of the Lord, greatly desiring that Friends now present may duly consider it.

In the fall of this year, having hired a man to work, I perceived, in conversation, that he had been a soldier in the late war on this continent; and in the evening, giving a narrative of his captivity amongst the Indians, he informed me that he saw two of his fellow captives tortured to death in a very cruel manner. This relation affected me with sadness, under which I went to bed: and the next morning, soon after I awoke, a fresh and living sense of Divine love was spread over my mind; in which I had a renewed prospect of the nature of that wisdom from above, which leads to a right use of all gifts, both spiritual and temporal, and gives content therein. Under a feeling thereof, I wrote as follows:

Hath He, who gave me a being attended with many wants unknown to brute-creatures, given me a capacity superior to theirs; and shown me, that a moderate application to business is proper to my present condition; and that this, attended with his blessing, may supply all outward wants, while they remain within the bounds he hath fixed; and no imaginary wants proceeding from an evil spirit, have any place in me? Attend then, O my soul! to this pure wisdom, as thy sure conductor through the manifold dangers in this world!

Doth pride lead to vanity? Doth vanity form imaginary wants? Do these wants prompt men to exert their power in requiring that of others, which themselves would rather be excused from, were the same required of them?

Do these proceedings beget hard thoughts? Do hard thoughts, when ripe, become malice? Does malice, when ripe, become revengeful; and in the end inflict terrible pains on their fellow-creatures, and spread desolations in the world?

Doth mankind, walking in uprightness, delight in each other's happiness? And do these creatures, capable of this attainment, by giving way to an evil spirit, employ their wit and strength to afflict and destroy one another?

Remember then, O my soul! the quietude of those in whom Christ governs, and in all thy proceedings feel after it!

Doth he condescend to bless thee with his presence? To move and influence to action? To dwell in thee, and walk in thee? Remember then thy station, as a being sacred to God; accept of the strength freely offered thee; and take heed that no weakness, in conforming to expensive, unwise, and hard-hearted customs, gendering to discord and strife, be given way to. Doth he claim my body as his temple, and graciously grant that I may be sacred to him? Oh! that I may prize this favour; and that my whole life may be conformable to this character!

Remember, O my soul! that the prince of peace is thy Lord: that he communicates his pure wisdom to his family; that they living in perfect simplicity, may give no just cause of offence to any creature, but may walk as he walked!

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Having felt an openness in my heart toward visiting families in our own meeting, and especially in the town of Mount Holly, the place of my abode, I mentioned it in our monthly meeting the fore part of the winter, 1764; which being agreed to, and several

Friends of our meeting being united in the exercise, we proceeded therein; and through Divine favour were helped in the work, so that it appeared to me as a fresh reviving of godly care amongst Friends. And the latter part of the same winter, I joined my friend William Jones, in a visit to Friends' families in Mansfield; in which labour, I had cause to admire the goodness of the Lord towards us.

Having felt my mind drawn toward a visit to Friends along the sea-coast from Cape May to near Squan; and also to visit some people in those parts, amongst whom there is no settled worship; I joined with my beloved friend Benjamin Jones, in a visit there, having Friends unity therein. And setting off the 24th day of the 10th month, 1765, we had a prosperous and very satisfactory journey; feeling, at times, through the goodness of the heavenly Shepherd, the gospel to flow freely toward a poor people scattered in those places. And soon after our return, I joined my friends, John Sleeper and Elizabeth Smith, in visiting Friends' families at Burlington; there being at this time about fifty families of our society in that city: and we had cause humbly to adore our heavenly Father, who baptized us into a feeling of the state of the people, and strengthened us to labour in true gospel love amongst them. And near the same time, my friend John Sleeper and I performed a visit to Friends' families belonging to Ancocas meeting; in which I found true satisfaction.

An exercise having, at times, for several years, attended me, in regard to paying a religious visit to Friends on the Eastern Shore of Maryland;—such was the nature of this exercise, that I believed the Lord moved me to travel on foot amongst them, that by so travelling I might have a more lively feeling of the condition of the oppressed slaves, set an example of lowliness before the eyes of their masters, and be more out of the way of temptation to unprofitable familiar converse, and be at less expense among them.

The time now drawing near in which I believed it my duty to lay my concern before our monthly meeting, I perceived in conversation with my beloved friend John Sleeper, that he was under a concern to travel the same way, and also to travel "on foot in the form of a servant amongst them," as he expressed it. This he told me before he knew aught of my exercise.

We being thus drawn the same way, laid our exercise and the nature of it before Friends; and obtaining certificates, we set off the 6th day of the 5th month, 1766; and were at meetings with Friends at Wilmington, Duck Creek, Little Creek and Motherkill. My heart was sundry times tendered under the Divine influence, and enlarged in love toward the people amongst whom we travelled. From Motherkill, we crossed the country about thirty-five miles to Friends at Tuckahoe, in Maryland, and had a meeting there, and also at Marshy Creek.

At these, our three last meetings, were a considerable number of people, followers of one Joseph Nichols, a preacher; who, I understand, is not in outward fellowship with any religious society of people, but professeth nearly the same principles as our society doth, and often travels up and down appointing meetings, to which many people come. I heard some Friends speaking of some of their neighbours who had been irreligious people, that were now his followers, and were become sober well-behaved men and women.—Some irregularities, I hear, have been amongst the people at several of his meetings; but from the whole of what I have perceived, I believe the man and some of his followers are honestly disposed, but that skilful fathers are wanting among them.

From hence we went to Choptank and Third Haven; and thence to Queen Ann's. The weather having some days past been hot and dry, and we to attend meetings pursuant to appointment, having travelled pretty steadily, and had hard labour in meetings, I grew weakly; at which I was for a time discouraged.

But looking over our journey, and thinking how the Lord had supported our minds and bodies, so that we got forward much faster than I expected before we came out, I now saw that I had been in danger of too strongly desiring to get soon through the journey, and that this bodily weakness now attending me was a kindness to me. And then, in contrition of spirit, I became very thankful to my gracious Father for this manifestation of his love; and in humble submission to his will, my trust was renewed in him.

In this part of our journey, I had many thoughts on the different circumstances of Friends who inhabit Pennsylvania and Jersey, from those who dwell in Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina. Pennsylvania and New Jersey were settled by many Friends, who were convinced of our principles in England in times of suffering; and, coming over, bought lands of the natives, and applied themselves to husbandry in a peaceable way; and many of their children were taught to labour for their living. Few Friends, I believe, came from England to settle in any of these southern provinces; but by the faithful labours of travelling Friends in early times, there was considerable convincements amongst the inhabitants of these parts.

Here I remembered reading of the warlike disposition of many of the first settlers in these provinces, and of their numerous engagements with the natives, in which much blood was shed, even in the infancy of those colonies. These people, inhabiting those places, being grounded in customs contrary to the pure Truth,—when some of them were affected with the powerful preaching of the word of Life, and joined in fellowship with our society, they had a great work to go through.

It is observable in the History of the Reformation from Popery, that it had a gradual progress from age to age. The uprightness of the first reformers, in attending to the light and understanding given them, opened the way for sincere-hearted people to proceed further afterward. And thus, each one truly fearing

God, and labouring in those works of righteousness appointed for them in their day, findeth acceptance with Him: though, through the darkness of the times, and the corruption of manners and customs, some upright men may have had little more for their day's work than to attend to the righteous principle in their minds, as it related to their own conduct in life, without pointing out to others the whole extent of that which the same principle would lead succeeding ages into.

Thus, for instance, amongst an imperious warlike people, supported by oppressed slaves, some of these masters, I suppose, are awakened to feel and see their error; and, through sincere repentance, cease from oppression, and become like fathers to their servants; showing, by their example, a pattern of humility in living, and moderation in governing, for the instruction and admonition of their oppressing neighbours; those, without carrying the reformation further, I believe have found acceptance with the Lord. Such was the beginning; and those who succeeded them, and have faithfully attended to the nature and spirit of the reformation, have seen the necessity of proceeding forward; and not only to instruct others, by their example, in governing well, but also to use means to prevent their successors from having so much power to oppress others.

Here I was renewedly confirmed in my mind, that the Lord (whose tender mercies are over all his works, and whose ear is open to the cries and groans of the oppressed) is graciously moving on the hearts of people, to draw them off from the desire of wealth, and bring them into such a humble, lowly way of living, that they may see their way clearly to repair to the standard of true righteousness; and not only break the yoke of oppression, but know Him to be their strength and support in a time of outward affliction.

We, passing on, crossed Chester river, and had a meeting there, and at Cecil and Sassafras. Through



my bodily weakness, joined with a heavy exercise of mind, it was to me an humbling dispensation, and I had a very lively feeling of the state of the oppressed; yet I often thought, that what I suffered was little, compared with the sufferings of the blessed Jesus, and many of his faithful followers; and may say with thankfulness, I was made content.

From Sassafras, we went pretty directly home, where we found our families well. And for several weeks after our return, I had often to look over our journey; and though to me it appeared as a small service, and that some faithful messengers will yet have more bitter cups to drink in those southern provinces for Christ's sake than we had; yet I found peace in that I had been helped to walk in sincerity, according to the understanding and strength given me.

On the 13th of the 11th month, 1766, with the unity of Friends of our monthly meeting, and in company with my beloved friend Benjamin Jones, I set out on a visit to Friends in the upper part of this province, having had drawings of love in my heart that way a considerable time. We travelled as far as Hardwich; and I had inward peace in my labours of love amongst them.

Through the humbling dispensation of Divine Providence, my mind hath been brought into a further feeling of the difficulties of Friends and their servants south-westward: and being often engaged in spirit on their account, I believed it my duty to walk into some parts of the Western Shore of Maryland, on a religious visit. And having obtained a certificate from Friends of our monthly meeting, I took leave of my family under the heart-tendering operation of Truth; and on the 20th of the 4th month, 1767, I rode to the ferry opposite to Philadelphia, and from thence walked to William Horne's at Darby that evening; and next day pursued my journey alone, and reached Concord week-day meeting.

Discouragements and a weight of distress had, at times, attended me in this lonesome walk; through which afflictions, I was mercifully preserved: and now, sitting down with Friends, my mind was turned toward the Lord, to wait for his holy leadings; who, in infinite love, was pleased to soften my heart into humble contrition, and did renewedly strengthen me to go forward; so that to me it was a time of heavenly refreshment in a silent meeting.

The next day I came to New Garden week-day meeting, in which I sat with bowedness of spirit; and being baptized into a feeling of the state of some present, the Lord gave us a heart-tendering season; to his name be the praise. I passed on, and was at Nottingham monthly meeting; and at a meeting at Little Britain on first-day. And in the afternoon, several Friends came to the house where I lodged, and we had a little afternoon meeting; and through the humbling power of Truth, I had to admire the loving kindness of the Lord manifested to us.

26th of 4th month, I crossed Susquehannah; and coming amongst people who lived in outward ease and greatness, chiefly on the labour of slaves, my heart was much affected: and in awful retiredness, my mind was gathered inward to the Lord, being humbly engaged that in true resignation I might receive instruction from him, respecting my duty amongst this people.

Though travelling on foot was wearisome to my body; yet thus travelling, was agreeable to the state of my mind. I went gently on, being weakly; and was covered with sorrow and heaviness, on account of the spreading, prevailing spirit of this world, introducing customs grievous and oppressive on one hand, and cherishing pride and wantonness on the other. In this lonely walk and state of abasement and humiliation, the state of the church in these parts was opened before me; and I may truly say with the prophet, "I was bowed down at the hearing of it; I was dismayed at the seeing of it."

Under this exercise, I attended the Quarterly meeting at Gunpowder; and in bowedness of spirit, I had to open, with much plainness, what I felt respecting Friends living in fullness on the labours of the poor oppressed negroes; and that promise of the Most High was now revived;—"I will gather all nations and tongues; and they shall come and see my glory."—Here the sufferings of Christ, and his tasting death for every man, and the travels, sufferings and martyrdoms of the apostles and primitive christians, in labouring for the conversion of the gentiles, was livingly revived in me; and according to the measure of strength afforded, I laboured in some tenderness of spirit, being deeply affected amongst them. And thus the difference between the present treatment which these gentiles, the negroes, receive at our hands, and the labours of the primitive christians for the conversion of the gentiles,—was pressed home, and the power of Truth came over us; under a feeling of which, my mind was united to a tender-hearted people in those parts; and the meeting concluded in a sense of God's goodness toward his humble dependant children.

The next day was a general meeting for worship, much crowded;—in which I was deeply engaged in inward cries to the Lord for help, that I might stand wholly resigned, and move only as he might be pleased to lead me: and I was mercifully helped to labour honestly and fervently amongst them; in which I found inward peace; and the sincere-hearted were comforted.

From hence I turned toward Pipe Creek, and passed on to the Red Lands; and had several meetings amongst Friends in those parts. My heart was often tenderly affected, under a sense of the Lord's goodness, in sanctifying my troubles and exercises, turning them to my comfort, and, I believe, to the benefit of many others; for, I may say with thankfulness, that in this visit, it appeared like a fresh tendering visitation in most places.

I passed on to the Western Quarterly meeting in Pennsylvania; and during the several days of this meeting, I was mercifully preserved in an inward feeling after the mind of Truth, and my public labours tended to my humiliation; with which I was content. After the Quarterly meeting of worship ended, I felt drawings to go to the women's meeting of business; which was very full: and here the humility of Jesus Christ, as a pattern for us to walk by, was livingly opened before me; and in treating on it, my heart was enlarged, and it was a baptizing time. From thence I went on, and was at meetings at Concord, Middletown, Providence, and Haddonfield, and so home; where I found my family well. A sense of the Lord's merciful preservation in this my journey, incites reverent thankfulness to him.

On the 2nd day of the 9th month, 1767, with the unity of Friends, I set off on a visit to Friends in the upper part of Berks and Philadelphia counties;—was at eleven meetings in about two weeks; and have renewed cause to bow in reverence before the Lord, who, by the powerful extendings of his humbling goodness, opened my way amongst Friends, and made the meetings, I trust, profitable to us. And in the winter following, I joined Friends on a visit to Friends' families, in some part of our meeting; in which exercise the pure influence of Divine love made our visits reviving.

The 5th of the 5th month, 1768, I left home, under the humbling hand of the Lord; having obtained a certificate, in order to visit some meetings in Maryland: and to proceed without a horse, looked clearest to me. I was at the Quarterly meetings of Philadelphia and Concord; and then went on to Chester river; and, crossing the bay with Friends, was at the Yearly Meeting at West River. Thence back to Chester river; and, taking a few meetings in my way, proceeded home. It was a journey of much inward waiting; and as my eye was to the Lord, way was

several times opened to my humbling admiration, when things had appeared very difficult.

On my return, I felt a relief of mind, very comfortable to me; having, through Divine help, laboured in much plainness, both with Friends selected, and in the more public meetings; so that, I trust, the pure witness in many minds was reached.

11th of 6th month, 1769. Sundry cases have happened of late years, within the limits of our monthly meeting, respecting that of exercising pure righteousness toward the negroes; in which I have lived under a labour of heart, that equity might be steadily kept to. On this account, I have had some close exercises amongst Friends; in which, I may thankfully say, I find peace. And as my meditations have been much on universal love, my own conduct, in time past, became of late very grievous to me. As persons setting negroes free in our province, are bound by law to maintain them in case they have need of relief; some who scrupled keeping slaves for term of life, in the time of my youth, were wont to detain their young negroes in their service till thirty years of age, without wages, on that account: and with this custom I so far agreed, that I, being joined to another Friend in executing the will of a deceased Friend, once sold a negro lad till he might attain the age of thirty years, and applied the money to the use of the estate.

With abasement of heart, I may now say, that sometimes, as I have sat in meeting with my heart exercised toward that awful Being who respecteth not persons nor colours, and have looked upon this negro lad, I have felt that all was not clear in my mind respecting him. And as I have attended to this exercise, and fervently sought the Lord, it hath appeared to me, that I should make some restitution; but in what way I saw not till lately; when, being under some concern that I might be resigned to go on a visit to some part of the West Indies,—I was under close engagement of spirit, seeking to the Lord for counsel herein;—that of my joining in the sale

aforesaid, came heavily upon me; and my mind, for a time, was covered with darkness and sorrow; and under this sore affliction, my heart was softened to receive instruction. And here I first saw, that as I had been one of the two executors who had sold this lad for nine years longer than is common for our own children to serve, so I should now offer a part of my substance to redeem the last half of that nine years. But as the time was not yet come, I executed a bond, binding me and my executors to pay to the man he was sold to, what to candid men might appear equitable, for the last four years and a half of his time, in case the said youth should be living, and in a condition likely to provide comfortably for himself.

The 9th day of the 10th month, 1769. My heart hath often been deeply affected under a feeling I have had, that the standard of pure righteousness, is not lifted up to the people by us, as a society, in that clearness which it might have been, had we been so faithful to the teachings of Christ, as we ought to have been. And as my mind hath been inward to the Lord, the purity of Christ's government hath been opened in my understanding: and under this exercise, that of Friends being active in civil society, in putting laws in force which are not agreeable to the purity of righteousness, hath for several years past been an increasing burden upon me; having felt, in the openings of universal love, that where a people convinced of the truth of the inward teachings of Christ, are active in putting laws in execution which are not consistent with pure wisdom, it hath a necessary tendency to bring dimness over their minds. And as my heart hath been thus exercised, and a tender sympathy in me toward my fellow members, I have, within a few months past, in several meetings for discipline, expressed my concern on this subject.

## CHAPTER X.

Under some indisposition, his body, by abstinence, much weakened; and his mind, at that time, exercised for the good of the people in the West Indies—His afterwards communicating to Friends his being resigned to visit some of these Islands—The state of his mind, and the close considerations he was led into, while under this exercise—His preparations to embark, and his considerations on the trade to these Islands; and his being, when the vessel was ready to sail, released from the concern he had been under—His religious engagements after his return home—His sickness, in which he was brought to a very low state; and the prospects he then had.

The 12th day of the 3rd month, 1770. Having for some years past dieted myself on account of a lump gathering on my nose, and under this diet grown weak in body, and not of ability to travel by land as heretofore;—I was, at times, favoured to look with awfulness toward the Lord, before whom are all my ways, who alone hath the power of life and death; and to feel thankfulness raised in me, for this his fatherly chastisement; believing, if I was truly humbled under it, all would work for good.

While I was under this bodily weakness, my mind being at times exercised for the good of my fellow-creatures in the West Indies, I grew jealous over myself, lest the disagreeableness of the prospect should hinder me from obediently attending thereto. For though I knew not that the Lord required me to go there; yet I believed that resignation was now called for in that respect: and feeling a danger of not being wholly devoted to him, I was frequently engaged to watch unto prayer, that I might be preserved. And upwards of a year having passed, I walked one day in a solitary wood, my mind being covered with awfulness, when cries were raised in me to my merciful Father, that he would graciously keep me in faithfulness: and it then settled on my mind as a duty, to

open my condition to Friends at our monthly meeting; which I did soon after, as follows:

An exercise hath attended me for some time past, and of late been more weighty upon me; under which, I believe it is required of me to be resigned to go on a visit to some part of the West Indies. And in the Quarterly and general Spring meeting, I found no clearness to express any thing further, than that I believed resignation herein was required of me; and having obtained certificates from all said meetings, I felt like a sojourner at my outward habitation, kept free from worldly encumbrances, and was often bowed in spirit before the Lord, with inward breathings to him that I might be rightly directed.

And I may here note, that what I have before related of my being, when young, joined as an executor with another Friend, in executing the will of the deceased, our having sold a negro lad till he might attain the age of thirty years, was now the occasion of great sorrow to me. And after having settled matters relating to this youth, I provided a sea store and bed, and things for the voyage; and hearing of a vessel likely to sail from Philadelphia for Barbadoes, I spake with one of the owners at Burlington, and soon after went to Philadelphia on purpose to speak with him again: at which time he told me there was a Friend in town who was part owner of the said vessel; but I felt no inclination at that time to speak with him, but returned home. And a while after, I took leave of my family; and went to Philadelphia, where I had some weighty conversation with the first-mentioned owner, and showed him a writing, as follows:

25th of 11th month, 1769. As an exercise, with respect to a visit to Barbadoes, hath been weighty on my mind, I may express some of the trials which have attended me: under these trials I have, at times, rejoiced, in that I have my own self-will subjected.

I once, some years ago, retailed rum, sugar, and molasses, the fruits of the labour of slaves; but then had not much concern about them, save only that the



rum might be used in moderation; nor was this concern so weightily attended to, as I now believe it ought to have been. But of late years, being further informed respecting the oppressions too generally exercised in these islands, and thinking often on the degrees that are in connexions of interest and fellowship with the works of darkness, Ephes. v. 11, and feeling an increasing concern to be wholly given up to the leadings of the Holy Spirit,—it hath appeared, that the small gain I got by this branch of trade, should be applied in promoting righteousness on the earth.—And near the first motion toward a visit to Barbadoes, I believed the outward substance I possess should be applied in paying my passage, if I go, and providing things in a lowly way for my subsistence. But when the time drew near, in which I believed it required of me to be in readiness, a difficulty arose, which hath been a continued trial for some months past; under which I have, with abasement of mind, from day to day, sought the Lord for instruction; and often had a feeling of the condition of one formerly, who bewailed himself, for that the Lord hid his face from him.

During these exercises, my heart hath been often contrite; and I have had a tender feeling of the temptations of my fellow-creatures, labouring under those expensive customs distinguishable from the simplicity that there is in Christ, 2 Cor. ii. 3, and sometimes in the renewings of gospel love, have been helped to minister to others.

That which hath so closely engaged my mind, in seeking to the Lord for instruction is,—whether, after so full information of the oppression the slaves in the West Indies lie under, who raise the West India produce, (as I had in reading a caution and warning to Great Britain and her colonies, wrote by Anthony Benezet) it is right for me to take a passage in a vessel employed in the West India trade?

To trade freely with oppressors, and, without labouring to dissuade from such unkind treatment, seek for gain by such traffic,—I believe tends to make them

more easy respecting their conduct, than they would be, if the cause of universal righteousness was humbly and firmly attended to by those in general with whom they have commerce; and that complaint of the Lord by his prophet, "They have strengthened the hands of the wicked," hath very often revived in my mind. And I may here add some circumstances preceding any prospect of a visit there.

The case of David hath often been before me of late years. He longed for some water in a well beyond an army of Philistines who were at war with Israel; and some of his men, to please him, ventured their lives in passing through this army, and brought that water. It doth not appear that the Israelites were then scarce of water, but rather, that David gave way to delicacy of taste: but, having thought on the danger these men were exposed to, he considered this water as their blood, and his heart smote him that he could not drink it, but poured it out to the Lord.— And the oppression of the slaves, which I have seen in several journeys southward, on this continent, and the report of their treatment in the West Indies hath deeply affected me; and a care to live in the spirit of peace, and minister just cause of offence to none of my fellow-creatures, hath, from time to time, livingly revived on my mind: and under this exercise, I, for some years past, declined to gratify my palate with those sugars.

I do not censure my brethren in these things; but believe the Father of mercies, to whom all mankind by creation are equally related, hath heard the groans of these oppressed people; and is preparing some to have a tender feeling of their condition. And the trading in, or frequent use of any produce known to be raised by the labours of those who are under such lamentable oppression, hath appeared to be a subject which may yet more require the serious consideration of the humble followers of Christ, the prince of peace.

After long and mournful exercise, I am now free to mention how things have opened in my mind, with

desires that if it may please the Lord to further open his will to any of his children in this matter, they may faithfully follow him in such further manifestation.

The number of those who decline the customary use of the West India produce, on account of the hard usage of the slaves who raise it,—appears small, even amongst people truly pious; and the labours in christian love, on that subject, of those who do, not very extensive.

Were the trade from this continent to the West Indies to be quite stopped at once, I believe many there would suffer for want of bread.

Did we on this continent, and the inhabitants of the West Indies generally dwell in pure righteousness, I believe a small trade between us might be right: that under these considerations, when the thoughts of wholly declining the use of trading vessels, and of trying to hire a vessel to go under ballast have arose in my mind, I have believed that the labours in gospel love, yet bestowed in the cause of universal righteousness, are not arrived to that height.

If the trade to the West Indies were no more than was consistent with pure wisdom, I believe the passage money would, for good reasons, be higher than it is now. And here, under deep exercise of mind, I have believed that I should not take the advantage of this great trade and small passage money; but as a testimony in favour of less trading, should pay more than is common for others to pay, if I go at this time.

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The first-mentioned owner having read the paper, expressed a willingness to go with me to the other owner; and we going, the said other owner read over the paper, and we had some solid conversation; under which, I felt my soul bowed in reverence before the Most High. And, at length, one of them asked me if I would go and see the vessel? but I had not clearness in my mind to go; but went to my lodgings, and retired in private.

I was now under great exercise of mind; and my tears were poured out before the Lord, with inward cries, that he would graciously help me under these trials.

In this case, I believe my mind was resigned, but did not feel clearness to proceed; and my own weakness, and the necessity of Divine instruction, was impressed upon me.

I was, for a time, as one who knew not what to do, and was tossed as in a tempest: under which affliction, the doctrine of Christ, "Take no thought for the morrow," arose livingly before me. I remembered it was some days before they expected the vessel to sail, and was favoured to get into a good degree of stillness. And, having been near two days in town, I believed my obedience to my heavenly Father consisted in returning homeward. I then went over amongst Friends on the Jersey shore, and tarried till the morning on which they had appointed to sail: and as I lay in bed the latter part of that night, my mind was comforted; and I felt what I esteemed a fresh confirmation, that it was the Lord's will that I should pass through some further exercises near home.

So I went home, and still felt like a sojourner with my family: and in the fresh spring of pure love, had some labours in a private way amongst Friends, on a subject relating to Truth's testimony; under which I had frequently been exercised in heart for some years. I remember, as I walked on the road under this exercise, that passage in Ezekiel came fresh before me; "whithersoever their faces were turned, thither they went:"—and I was graciously helped to discharge my duty in the fear and dread of the Almighty.

After a few weeks, it pleased the Lord to visit me with a pleurisy; and after I had lain a few days, and felt the disorder very grievous, I was thoughtful how it might end.

I had of late, through various exercises, been much weaned from the pleasant things of this life; and I now thought, if it was the Lord's will to put an end

to my labours, and graciously receive me into the arms of his mercy, death would be acceptable to me: but if it was his will further to refine me under affliction, and make me in any degree useful in his church, I desired not to die. I may with thankfulness say, that in this case I felt resignedness wrought in me, and had no inclination to send for a doctor; believing, if it was the Lord's will, through outward means, to raise me up, some sympathizing friends would be sent to minister to me; which were accordingly. But though I was carefully attended, yet the disorder was at times so heavy, that I had no thoughts of recovery. One night, in particular, my bodily distress was great; my feet grew cold, and cold increased up my legs toward my body; and at that time I had no inclination to ask my nurse to apply any thing warm to my feet, expecting my end was near. And after I had lain near ten hours in this condition, I closed my eyes, thinking whether I might now be delivered out of the body: but in these awful moments, my mind was livingly opened to behold the church; and strong engagements were begotten in me for the everlasting well-being of my fellow-creatures; and I felt, in the spring of pure love, that I might remain some time longer in the body, in filling up, according to my measure, that which remains of the afflictions of Christ, and in labouring for the good of the church: after which, I requested my nurse to apply warmth to my feet; and I revived. And the next night, feeling a weighty exercise of spirit, and having a solid Friend sitting up with me, I requested him to write what I said; which he did, as follows:

“4th day of the 1st month, 1770, about five in the morning.—I have seen in the light of the Lord, that the day is approaching, when the man that is the most wise in human policy, shall be the greatest fool; and the arm that is mighty to support injustice, shall be broken to pieces. The enemies of righteousness shall make a terrible rattle, and shall mightily torment one another; for He that is omnipotent is rising up to

judgment, and will plead the cause of the oppressed; and he commanded me to open the vision."

Near a week after this, feeling my mind livingly opened, I sent for a neighbour, who at my request wrote as follows:

"The place of prayer is a precious habitation; for I now saw that the prayers of the saints was precious incense: and a trumpet was given me, that I might sound forth this language; that the children might hear it, and be invited to gather to this precious habitation, where the prayers of the saints, as precious incense, ariseth up before the throne of God and the Lamb—I saw this habitation to be safe; to be inwardly quiet, when there were great stirrings and commotions in the world.

"Prayer, at this day, in pure resignation, is a precious place. The trumpet is sounded, the call goes forth to the church, that she gather to the place of pure inward prayer; and her habitation is safe."

## CHAPTER XI.

His preparing to visit Friends in England—His embarking at Chester, in company with Samuel Emlen, in a ship bound to London—His deep exercise, on observing the difficulties and hardships the common sailors are exposed to—Considerations on the dangers to which youth are exposed, in being trained to a sea-faring life; and its inconsistency with a pious education—His thoughts in a storm at sea: with many instructive contemplations on the voyage—And his arrival at London.

Having been some time under a religious concern to prepare for crossing the seas, in order to visit Friends in the northern parts of England, and more particularly in Yorkshire; after weighty consideration, I thought it expedient to inform Friends thereof, at our monthly meeting at Burlington, who, having unity with me therein, gave me a certificate; and I afterwards communicated the same at our Quarterly meeting, and they likewise certified their concurrence therewith. Some time after which, at the general Spring meeting of ministers and elders, I thought it my duty to acquaint them of the religious exercise which attended my mind; with which they likewise signified their unity by a certificate, dated the 24th day of the 3d month, 1772, directed to Friends in Great Britain.

In the 4th month following, I thought the time was come for me to make some inquiry for a suitable conveyance; being apprehensive, that as my concern was principally toward the northern parts of England, it would be most proper to go in a vessel bound to Liverpool or Whitehaven. And while I was at Philadelphia, deliberating on this occasion, I was informed that my beloved friend Samuel Emlen jun. intending to go to London, had taken a passage for himself in the cabin of the ship called Mary and Elizabeth, of which James Sparks was master, and John Head of the city of Philadelphia, one of the owners; and I feeling a draft in my mind toward the steerage of the

same ship, went first and opened to Samuel the feeling I had concerning it.

My beloved friend wept when I spake to him, and appeared glad that I had thoughts of going in the vessel with him, though my prospect was toward the steerage. And he offering to go with me, we went on board; first, into the cabin, a commodious room, and then into the steerage; where we sat down on a chest, the sailors being busy about us: then the owner of the ship came and sat down with us.

Here my mind was turned toward Christ, the heavenly counsellor; and feeling at this time my own will subjected, my heart was contrite before God.

A motion was made by the owner to go and sit in the cabin, as a place more retired; but I felt easy to leave the ship, and made no agreement as to a passage in her; but told the owner, if I took a passage in the ship, I believed it would be in the steerage; but did not say much as to my exercise in that case.

After I went to my lodgings, and the case was a little known in town, a friend laid before me the great inconveniences attending a passage in the steerage; which, for a time, appeared very discouraging to me.

I soon after went to bed, and my mind was under a deep exercise before the Lord, whose helping hand was manifested to me as I slept that night, and his love strengthened my heart. And in the morning, I went with two friends on board the vessel again; and after a short time spent therein, I went with Samuel Emlen to the house of the owner; to whom, in the hearing of Samuel only, I opened my exercise, in substance as follows, in relation to a scruple I felt with regard to a passage in the cabin:

I told the owner that on the outside of that part of the ship where the cabin was, I observed sundry sorts of carved work and imagery; and that in the cabin I observed some superfluity of workmanship of several sorts; and that according to the ways of men's reckoning, the sum of money to be paid for a passage in that apartment, hath some relation to the expense in fur-



nishing it to please the minds of such who give way to a conformity to this world; and that in this case, as in other cases, the monies received from the passengers are calculated to answer every expense relating to their passage, and amongst the rest, of these superfluities!—and that in this case, I felt a scruple with regard to paying my money to defray such expenses.

As my mind was now opened, I told the owner that I had at several times in my travels, seen great oppressions on this continent; at which my heart had been much affected, and brought into a feeling of the state of the sufferers. And having many times been engaged, in the fear and love of God, to labour with those under whom the oppressed have been borne down and afflicted, I have often perceived that it was with a view to get riches, and provide estates for children to live conformable to customs, which stand in that spirit wherein men have regard to the honours of this world;—That in the pursuit of these things, I had seen many entangled in the spirit of oppression; and the exercise of my soul had been such, that I could not find peace in joining with any thing which I saw was against that wisdom which is pure.

After this, I agreed for a passage in the steerage. And hearing in town that Joseph White had a desire to see me, I felt the reviving of a desire to see him, and went then to his house, and next day home; where I tarried two nights. Then early in the morning, I parted with my family under a sense of the humbling hand of God upon me; and, going to Philadelphia, had opportunity with several of my beloved friends, who appeared to be concerned for me, on account of the unpleasant situation of that part of the vessel where I was likely to lodge.

In these opportunities, my mind, through the mercies of God, was kept low, in an inward waiting for his help: and Friends having expressed their desire that I might have a place more convenient than the steerage, did not urge, but appeared disposed to leave me to the Lord.

Having stayed two nights in Philadelphia, I went the next day to Darby monthly meeting; where, thro' the strength of Divine love, my heart was enlarged toward the youth then present; under which I was helped to labour in some tenderness of spirit. Then lodging at William Horne's, I with one friend went to Chester; where meeting with Samuel Emlen, we went on board the 1st day of the 5th month, 1772: and as I sat down alone on a seat on the deck, I felt a satisfactory evidence that my proceedings were not in my own will, but under the power of the cross of Christ.

7th day of the 5th month. Have had rough weather mostly since I came on board; and the passengers, James Reynolds, John Till-Adams, Sarah Logan and her hired maid, and John Bispham, all sea-sick, more or less, at times; from which sickness, through the tender mercies of my heavenly Father, I have been preserved: my afflictions now being of another kind.

There appeared an openness in the minds of the master of the ship, and in the cabin passengers toward me: we were often together on the deck, and sometimes in the cabin.

My mind, through the merciful help of the Lord, hath been preserved in a good degree watchful and inward; and I have, this day, great cause to be thankful, in that I remain to feel quietness of mind.

As my lodging in the steerage, now near a week, hath afforded me sundry opportunities of seeing, hearing, and feeling, with respect to the life and spirit of many poor sailors; an inward exercise of soul hath attended me, in regard to placing out children and youth where they may be likely to be exampled and instructed in the pure fear of the Lord. And I, being much amongst the seamen, have from a motion of love, sundry times taken opportunities with one of them at a time alone; and in a free conversation, laboured to turn their minds toward the fear of the Lord. And this day we had a meeting in the cabin, where my heart was contrite under a feeling of Divine love.

Now concerning lads being trained up as seamen: I believe a communication from one part of the world to some other parts of it, by sea, is at times consistent with the will of our heavenly Father; and to educate some youth in the practice of sailing, I believe may be right: but how lamentable is the present corruption of the world! How impure are the channels through which trade hath a conveyance! How great is that danger, to which poor lads are now exposed, when placed on shipboard to learn the art of sailing!

Five lads, training up for the seas, were now on board this ship; two of them brought up amongst our society; one of which hath a right amongst Friends, by name James Nayler, to whose father, James Nayler mentioned in Sewel's History, appears to have been uncle. I often feel a tenderness of heart toward these poor lads; and at times, look at them as though they were my children according to the flesh.

Oh! that all may take heed and beware of covetousness! Oh! that all may learn of Christ, who is meek and low of heart! Then, in faithfully following him, he will teach us to be content with food and raiment, without respect to the customs or honours of this world. Men thus redeemed, will feel a tender concern for their fellow-creatures, and a desire that those in the lowest stations may be assisted and encouraged. And where owners of ships attain to the perfect law of liberty, and are doers of the word, these will be blessed in their deeds.

A ship at sea commonly sails all night, and the seamen take their watches, four hours at a time. Rising to work in the night, is not commonly pleasant in any case; but in dark rainy nights it is very disagreeable, even though each man were furnished with all conveniences. But if men must go out at midnight to help manage the ship in the rain, and having small room to sleep and lay their garments in, are often beset to furnish themselves for the watch; their garments or something relating to their business being wanting, and not easily found; when, from the urgency occa-

sioned by high winds, they are hastened and called up suddenly: here is a trial of patience on the poor sailors, and the poor lads their companions.

If after they have been on deck several hours in the night, and come down into the steerage soaking wet, and are so close stowed that proper convenience for change of garments is not easily come at, but for want of proper room their wet garments are thrown in heaps, and sometimes through much crowding, are trodden under foot in going to their lodgings and getting out of them, and great difficulties, at times, each one to find his own: here are trials on the poor sailors!

Now as I have been with them in my lodge, my heart hath often yearned for them; and tender desires have been raised in me, that all owners and masters of vessels may dwell in the love of God, and therein act uprightly; and by seeking less for gain, and looking carefully to their ways, may earnestly labour to remove all cause of provocation from the poor seamen, either to fret or use excess of strong drink: for indeed the poor creatures, at times, in the wet and cold, seem to apply to strong drink to supply the want of other conveniences.

Great reformation in the world is wanting; and the necessity of it, amongst those who do business on great waters, hath at this time been abundantly opened before me.

8th of 5th month.—This morning the clouds gathered, the wind blew strong from south-eastward, and before noon increased to that degree that sailing appeared dangerous. The seamen then bound up some of their sails, and took down some; and the storm increasing, they put the dead lights, so called, into the cabin windows, and lighted a lamp as at night.

The wind now blew vehemently, and the sea wrought to that degree, that an awful seriousness prevailed in the cabin, in which I spent, I believe, about seventeen hours; for I believed the poor wet toiling seamen had need of all the room in the crowd-

ed steerage, and the cabin passengers had given me frequent invitations.

They ceased now from sailing; and put the vessel in the posture called *lying-to*.

My mind, in this tempest, through the gracious assistance of the Lord, was preserved in a good degree of resignation; and I felt at times a few words in his love to my ship-mates, in regard to the all-sufficiency of Him who formed the great deep, and whose care is so extensive, that a sparrow falls not without his notice. And thus in a tender frame of mind, I spake to them of the necessity of our yielding, in true obedience, to the instructions of our heavenly Father, who sometimes through adversities intendeth our refinement.

About eleven at night, I went out on the deck, when the sea wrought exceedingly, and the high foaming waves all round about, had in some sort the appearance of fire; but did not give much if any light. The sailor then at the helm said he lately saw a corposant at the head of the mast.

About this time I observed the master of the ship ordered the carpenter to keep on the deck; and though he said little, I apprehended his care was, that the carpenter with his axe might be in readiness in case of any extremity.

Soon after this, the vehemency of the wind abated; and before morning, they again put the ship under sail.

The 10th day of the month, and first of the week, it being fine weather, we had a meeting in the cabin, at which most of the seamen were present. This meeting to me was a strengthening time.

13th. As I continue to lodge in the steerage, I feel an openness this morning to express something further of the state of my mind, in respect to poor lads being bound apprentice to learn the art of sailing.— As I believe sailing is of some use in the world, a labour of soul attends me, that the pure counsel of Truth may be humbly waited for in this case, by all concerned in the business of the seas.

A pious father whose mind is exercised for the everlasting welfare of his child, may not, with a peaceful mind, place him out to an employment amongst a people, whose common course of life is manifestly corrupt and profane. So great is the present defect amongst sea-faring men, in regard to piety and virtue;—and through an abundant traffic, and many ships of war, so many people are employed on the sea that this subject of placing lads to the employment, appears very weighty.

Profane examples are very corrupting, and very forcible. And as my mind, day after day, and night after night, hath been affected with a sympathizing tenderness toward poor children, put to the employment of sailors, I have sometimes had weighty conversation with the sailors in the steerage, who were mostly respectful to me, and more and more so, the longer I was with them. They mostly appeared to take kindly what I said to them; but their minds have appeared to be so deeply impressed with that almost universal depravity amongst sailors, that the poor creatures, in their answers to me on this subject, have revived in my remembrance that of the degenerate Jews, a little before the captivity, as repeated by Jeremiah the prophet, "There is no hope."

Now under this exercise, a sense of the desire of outward gain prevailing amongst us, hath felt grievous: and a strong call to the professed followers of Christ, hath been raised in me;—that all may take heed, lest, through loving this present world, they be found in a continued neglect of duty, with respect to a faithful labour for a reformation.

Silence, as to every motion proceeding from the love of money, and an humble waiting upon God to know his will concerning us, hath now appeared necessary. He alone is able to strengthen us to dig deep, to remove all which lies between us and the safe foundation, and so direct us in our outward employments, that pure universal love may shine forth in our proceedings.

Desires arising from the spirit of Truth, are pure desires; and when a mind Divinely opened toward a young generation, is made sensible of corrupting examples powerfully working and extensively spreading amongst them, how moving is the prospect!

A great trade to the coast of Africa for slaves; of which I now heard frequent conversation amongst the sailors!

A great trade in that which is raised and prepared through grievous oppression!

A great trade in superfluity of workmanship, formed to please the pride and vanity of people's minds!

Great and extensive is that depravity, which prevails amongst the poor sailors! When I remember that saying of the Most High through his prophet, "This people have I formed for myself; they shall show forth my praise;" and think of placing children amongst them, to learn the practice of sailing, the consistency of it with a pious education, seems to me like that mentioned by the prophet, "There is no answer from God."

In a world of dangers and difficulties, like a desolate thorny wilderness, how precious! how comfortable! how safe! are the leadings of Christ, the good shepherd; who said, "I know my sheep; and am known of mine."

16th. Wind for several days past often high—what the sailors call *squally*; rough sea and frequent rains. This last night a very trying night to the poor seamen; the water chief part of the night running over the main deck, and sometimes breaking waves came on the quarter deck. The latter part of the night, as I lay in bed, my mind was humbled under the power of Divine love; and resignedness to the great Creator of the earth and the seas, renewedly wrought in me, whose fatherly care over his children felt precious to my soul: and desires were now renewed in me, to embrace every opportunity of being inwardly acquainted with the hardships and difficulties of my fellow-creatures, and to labour in his love for the

spreading of pure universal righteousness in the earth. The opportunities being frequent of hearing conversation amongst the sailors, in respect to the voyages to Africa, and the manner of bringing the deeply oppressed slaves into our islands;—the thoughts of their condition, frequently in chains and fetters on board the vessels, with hearts loaded with grief, under the apprehensions of miserable slavery; my mind was frequently opened to meditate on these things.

The 17th of the month, and first of the week, we had a meeting in the cabin; to which the seamen generally came. My spirit was contrite before the Lord; whose love at this time affected my heart.

This afternoon I felt a tender sympathy of soul with my poor wife and family left behind; in which state, my heart was enlarged in desires that they may walk in that humble obedience, wherein the everlasting Father may be their guide and support, through all the difficulties in this world: and a sense of that gracious assistance, through which my mind hath been strengthened to take up the cross and leave them to travel in the love of Truth, hath begotten thankfulness in my heart to our Almighty Helper.

24th of 5th month, and first of the week, a clear pleasant morning. And as I sat on deck, I felt a reviving in my nature; which, through much rainy weather and high winds, being shut up in a close unhealthy air, was weakened.

Several nights of late I felt breathing difficult; so that a little after the rising of the second watch (which is about midnight) I got up and stood, I believe, near an hour with my face near the hatchway, to get the fresh air at a small vacancy under the hatch door; which is commonly shut down, partly to keep out rain, and sometimes to keep the breaking waves from dashing into the steerage.

I may, with thankfulness to the Father of mercies, acknowledge, that in my present weak state, my mind hath been supported to bear the affliction with patience; and I have looked at the present dispensation



as a kindness from the great Father of mankind, who, in this my floating pilgrimage, is in some degree bringing me to feel that which many thousands of my fellow-creatures often suffer in a greater degree.

My appetite failing, the trial hath been the heavier; and I have felt tender breathings in my soul after God, the fountain of comfort, whose inward help hath supplied, at times, the want of outward convenience.— And strong desires have attended me, that his family who are acquainted with the movings of his Holy Spirit, may be so redeemed from the love of money, and from that spirit in which men seek honour one of another,—that in all business, by sea or land, we may constantly keep in view the coming of his kingdom on earth, as it is in heaven: and by faithfully following this safe guide, show forth examples, tending to lead out of that under which the creation groans!

This day we had a meeting in the cabin; in which I was favoured in some degree to experience the fulfilling of that saying of the prophet, “The Lord hath been a strength to the poor, a strength to the needy in their distress;” for which my heart is bowed in thankfulness before him.

28th. Wet weather of late, with small winds inclining to calms. Our seamen having cast a lead, I suppose about one hundred fathom, but find no bottom. Foggy weather this morning.

Through the kindness of the great Preserver of men, my mind remains quiet; and a degree of exercise, from day to day, attends me, that the pure peaceable government of Christ may spread and prevail amongst mankind.

The leading on of a young generation in that pure way, in which the wisdom of this world hath no place; where parents and tutors, humbly waiting for the heavenly Counsellor, may example them in the Truth, as it is in Jesus:—This, for several days, hath been the exercise of my mind. Oh! how safe, how quiet is that state, where the soul stands in pure obedience to the voice of Christ, and a watchful care is maintained

not to follow the voice of the stranger! Here Christ is felt to be our shepherd; and under his leading, people are brought to a stability. And where he doth not lead forward, we are bound in the bonds of pure love to stand still and wait upon God.

In the love of money, and in the wisdom of this world, business is proposed; then the urgency of affairs push forward; nor can the mind, in this state, discern the good and perfect will of God concerning us.

The love of God is manifested in graciously calling us to come out of that which stands in confusion: but if we obey not the call;—if we give not up those prospects of gain which, in the wisdom of this world, are open before us; but say in our hearts, I must needs go on; and in going on, I hope to keep as near to the purity of Truth, as the business before me will admit of: here the mind remains entangled, and the shining of the light of life into the soul is obstructed.

This query opens in my mind in the love of God:—Where shall a pious father place his son apprentice to be instructed in the practice of crossing the seas, and have faith to believe that Christ, our holy Shepherd, leads him to place his son there?

Surely the Lord calls to mourning and deep humiliation, that in his fear we may be instructed, and led safely on through the great difficulties and perplexities in this present age.

In an entire subjection of our wills, the Lord graciously opens a way for his people, where all their wants are bounded by his wisdom: and here we experience the substance of what Moses the prophet figured out in the water of separation, as a purification from sin.

Esau is mentioned as a child red all over, like a hairy garment. In Esau is represented the natural will of man. In preparing the water of separation, a red heifer without blemish, on which there had been no yoke, was to be slain, and her blood sprinkled by the priest seven times toward the tabernacle of the congregation: then her skin, her flesh, and all pertaining

to her, was to be burnt without the camp; and of her ashes the water was prepared. Thus, the crucifying the old man, or natural will, is represented; and hence comes a separation from that carnal mind which is death.

“He who toucheth the dead body of a man, and purifieth not himself with the water of separation, he defileth the tabernacle of the Lord; he is unclean.” Numb. xix. 13.

If any, through the love of gain, go forth into business, wherein they dwell as amongst the tombs, and touch the bodies of those who are dead:—if these, through the infinite love of God, feel the power of the cross of Christ to crucify them to the world, and therein learn humbly to follow the Divine leader;—here is the judgment of this world,—here the prince of this world is cast out; and the water of separation is felt. And though we have been amongst the slain, and through the desire of gain have touched the dead body of a man; yet, in the purifying love of God, we are washed in the water of separation,—are brought off from that business, from that gain, and from that fellowship, which was not agreeable to his holy will. And I have felt a renewed confirmation in the time of this voyage, that the Lord, in his infinite love, is calling to his visited children so to give up all outward possessions and means of getting treasures, that his holy Spirit may have free course in their hearts, and direct them in all their proceedings.

To feel the substance pointed at in this figure, man must know death, as to his own will.

“No man can see God, and live:” This was spoken by the Almighty to Moses the prophet, and is opened by our blessed Redeemer.

As death comes on our own wills and a new life is formed in us, the heart is purified, and prepared to understand clearly, “Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.” In purity of heart, the mind is divinely opened to behold the nature of universal righteousness, or the righteousness of the kingdom of

God. "No man hath seen the Father, save he that is of God; he hath seen the Father."

The natural mind is active about the things of this life; and in this natural activity, business is proposed, and therein a will in us to go forward with it. And as long as this natural will remains unsubjected, so long there remains an obstruction against the clearness of Divine light operating in us. But when we love God with all our heart, and with all our strength, then, in this love, we love our neighbours as ourselves; and a tenderness of heart is felt toward all people, even such who as to outward circumstances may be to us as the Jews were to the Samaritans. Who is my neighbour? See this question answered, Luke x. 37.

In this love we can say that Jesus is the Lord; and the reformation in our souls is manifested in a full reformation of our lives, wherein "all things are new, and all things are of God." 2 Cor. v. 18. In this the desire of gain is subjected;—employment is honestly followed in the light of Truth;—and people become diligent in business, "fervent in spirit; serving the Lord:" Rom. xii. 11. Here the *name* is opened: "This is the name by which he shall be called, THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS." Jer. xxiii. 6.

Oh! how precious is this name! It is like ointment poured out. The chaste virgins are in love with the Redeemer: and for the promoting of his peaceable kingdom in the world, are content to endure hardness like good soldiers; and are so separated in spirit from the desire of riches, that in their employments, they become extensively careful to give none offence, neither to Jews nor heathen, nor the church of Christ.

31st of the month, and first of the week, we had a meeting in the cabin, with nearly all the ship's company; the whole being near thirty. In this meeting, the Lord in mercy favoured us with the extendings of his love.

The 2d of the 6th month. Last evening the seamen found bottom at about seventy fathoms.

This morning, fair wind and pleasant: and as I sat on deck, my heart was overcome with the love of God, and melted into contrition before him. And in this state, the prospect of that work to which I felt my mind drawn when in my native land, being in some degree opened before me, I felt like a little child; and my cries were put up to my heavenly Father for preservation, that in a humble dependance on him, my soul may be strengthened in his love, and kept inwardly waiting for his counsel.

This afternoon we saw that part of England, called the Lizard.

Some dunghill fowls yet remained of those the passengers took for their sea stores. I believe about fourteen perished in the storms at sea, by the waves breaking over the quarter-deck; and a considerable number with sickness, at different times.—I observed the cocks crew coming down the Delaware, and while we were near the land; but afterward, I think I did not hear one of them crow till we came near the land in England; when they again crowed a few times.

In observing their dull appearance at sea, and the pining sickness of some of them, I often remembered the Fountain of goodness, who gave being to all creatures, and whose love extends to that of caring for the sparrows; and believe, where the love of God is verily perfected, and the true spirit of government watchfully attended to, a tenderness toward all creatures made subject to us will be experienced; and a care felt in us that we do not lessen that sweetness of life in the animal creation, which the great Creator intends for them under our government.

4th. Wet weather, high winds, and so dark that we could see but a little way. I perceived our seamen were apprehensive of danger of missing the channel; which I understood was narrow. In a while, it grew lighter; and they saw the land, and knew where we were. Thus the Father of mercies was pleased to try us with the sight of dangers, and then graciously, from time to time, deliver from them: thus sparing

our lives, that in humility and reverence we may walk before him, and put our trust in him.

About noon, a pilot came off from Dover; where my beloved friend Samuel Emlen went on shore, and thence to London, about seventy-two miles by land; but I felt easy in staying in the ship.

7th of 6th month, and first of the week. Clear morning. Lay at anchor for the tide, and had a parting meeting with the ship's company; in which, my heart was enlarged in a fervent concern for them, that they may come to experience salvation through Christ. Had a head wind up the Thames;—lay sometimes at anchor;—saw many ships passing, and some at anchor near;—and had large opportunity of feeling the spirit in which the poor bewildered sailors too generally live. That lamentable degeneracy, which so much prevails among the people employed on the seas, so affected my heart, that I may not easily convey the feeling I have had to another.

The present state of the sea-faring life in general, appears so opposite to that of a pious education;—so full of corruption, and extreme alienation from God;—so full of examples, the most dangerous to *young people*,—that in looking toward a young generation, I feel a care for them, that they may have an education different from the present education of lads at sea:—and that all of us who are acquainted with the pure gospel spirit, may lay this case to heart, may remember the lamentable corruptions which attend the conveyance of merchandize across the seas, and so abide in the love of God, that, being delivered from the love of money, from the entangling expenses of a curious, delicate, luxurious life, we may learn contentment with a little; and promote the sea-faring life no further, than that spirit which leads into all truth, attends us in our proceedings.

## CHAPTER XII.

His attending the Yearly Meeting in London; and after it, proceeding toward Yorkshire, visiting several Quarterly and other meetings in the counties of Hertford, Warwick, Oxford, Nottingham, York and Westmoreland; and thence again into Yorkshire, and to the city of York; with some instructive thoughts and observations, and letters on divers subjects—His hearing of the decease of William Hunt; and some account of him—His sickness at York; and end of his pilgrimage there.

On the 8th day of the 6th month, 1772, I landed at London; and went straightway to the Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders, which had been gathered (I suppose) about half an hour.

In this meeting, my mind was humbly contrite. In the afternoon, the meeting of business opened; which, by adjournments, held near a week. In these meetings, I often felt a living concern for the establishment of Friends in the pure life of Truth: and my heart was enlarged in the meeting of ministers, meeting of business, and in several meetings for public worship; and I felt my mind united in true love to the faithful labourers now gathered at this Yearly Meeting.

15th of 6th month, I left London, and went to a Quarterly meeting at Hertford.

The 1st of 7th month, 1772. I have been at Quarterly meetings at Sherrington, Northampton, Banbury and Shipton; and had sundry meetings between. My mind hath been bowed under a sense of Divine goodness manifested amongst us; and my heart hath often been enlarged in true love, both amongst ministers and elders, and in public meetings; so that through the Lord's goodness, I believe it hath been a fresh visitation to many, in particular to the youth.

17th. Was this day at Birmingham; have been at meetings at Coventry, Warwick, in Oxfordshire, and sundry other places; have felt the humbling hand of

the Lord upon me; and through his tender mercies find peace in the labours I have gone through.

26th. I have continued travelling northward, visiting meetings;—was this day at Nottingham; which, in the forenoon especially, was, through Divine love, a heart-tendering season. Next day had a meeting in a Friend's house with Friends' children and some Friends. This, through the strengthening arm of the Lord, was a time to be thankfully remembered.

The 2d day of the 8th month, and first of the week: was this day at Sheffield, a large inland town:—have been at sundry meetings last week, and feel inward thankfulness for that Divine support which hath been graciously extended to me.

9th of the month, and first of the week, was at Rushworth. Have lately passed through some painful labour; but have been comforted, under a sense of that Divine visitation which I feel extended toward many young people.

16th, and first of the week, was at Settle. It hath of late been a time of inward poverty; under which my mind hath been preserved in a watchful tender state, feeling for the mind of the holy Leader; and find peace in the labours I have passed through.

On inquiry, in many places, I find the price of rye about five shillings, wheat about eight shillings, per bushel; oatmeal, twelve shillings for a hundred and twenty pounds; mutton, from three pence to five pence per pound; bacon, from seven pence to nine pence; cheese, from four pence to six pence; butter, from eight pence to ten pence; house rent for a poor man, from twenty-five shillings to forty shillings per year, to be paid weekly; wood, for fire, very scarce and dear; coal, in some places, two shillings and six pence per hundred weight; but near the pits, not a quarter so much. Oh! may the wealthy consider the poor!

The wages of labouring men in several counties toward London, is ten pence per day in common business; the employer finds small beer, and the la-



bourer finds his own food;—but in harvest and hay time, wages is about one shilling per day, and the labourer hath all his diet. In some parts of the north of England, poor labouring men have their food where they work; and appear, in common, to do rather better than nearer London. Industrious women who spin in the factories, get, some four pence, some five pence, and so on to six, seven, eight, nine or ten pence a day, and find their own house room and diet. Great numbers of poor people live chiefly on bread and water in the southern parts of England, and some in the northern parts; and there are many poor children not taught even to read. May those who have plenty, lay these things to heart!

Stage coaches frequently go upwards of a hundred miles in twenty-four hours. And I have heard Friends say, in several places, that it is common for horses to be killed with hard driving, and many others are driven till they grow blind.

Post boys pursue their business, each one to his stage, all night through the winter. Some boys who ride long stages, suffer greatly in winter nights; and at several places I have heard of their being froze to death. So great is the hurry in the spirit of this world, that in aiming to do business quick, and to gain wealth, the creation at this day doth loudly groan!

As my journey hath been without a horse, I have had several offers of being assisted on my way in these stage coaches; but have not been in them. Nor have I had freedom to send letters by these posts, in the present way of their riding; the stages being so fixed, and one boy dependant on another as to time, that they commonly go upward of one hundred miles in twenty-four hours; and in the cold long winter nights, the poor boys suffer much.

I heard in America of the way of these posts; and cautioned Friends in the general meeting of ministers and elders at Philadelphia, and in the Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders at London, not to send letters

to me on any common occasion by post. And though, on this account, I may be likely to hear seldomer from my family left behind; yet, for righteousness' sake, I am, through Divine favour, made content.

I have felt great distress of mind since I came on this Island, on account of the members of our society being mixed with the world in various sorts of business and traffic, carried on in impure channels. Great is the trade to Africa for slaves! and in loading these ships, abundance of people are employed in the manufactories; amongst whom are many of our society! Friends, in early times, refused, on a religious principle, to make or trade in superfluities; of which, we have many large testimonies on record. But for want of faithfulness, some gave way; even some, whose examples were of note in society; and from thence others took more liberty:—members of our society worked in superfluities, and bought and sold them; and thus dimness of sight came over many. At length, Friends got into the use of some superfluities in dress, and in the furniture of their houses; and this hath spread from less to more, till superfluity of some kinds is common amongst us.

In this declining state, many look at the examples one of another, and too much neglect the pure feeling of Truth. Of late years, a deep exercise hath attended my mind, that Friends may dig deep, may carefully cast forth the loose matter, and get down to the Rock, the sure foundation, and there hearken to that Divine voice which gives a clear and certain sound. And I have felt in that which doth not deceive, that if Friends who have known the Truth, keep in that tenderness of heart, where all views of outward gain are given up, and their trust is only in the Lord, he will graciously lead some to be patterns of deep self-denial in things relating to trade and handicraft labour;—and that some who have plenty of the treasures of this world, will example in a plain, frugal life; and pay wages to such whom they may hire, more liberally than is now customary in some places.

23d of 8th month. Was this day at Preston-Patrick, and had a comfortable meeting. I have, several times, been entertained at the houses of Friends who had sundry things about them which had the appearance of outward greatness: and as I have kept inward, way hath opened for conversation with such in private, in which Divine goodness hath favoured us together, with heart-tendering times.

A deviation amongst us, as a society, from the simplicity that there is in Christ, becoming so general; and the trade from this Island to Africa for slaves, and other trades carried on through oppressive channels;—and abundance of the inhabitants being employed in factories, to support a trade in which there is unrighteousness, and some growing outwardly great by a gain of this sort:—The weight of this degeneracy hath lain so heavy upon me;—the depth of this revolt, been so evident;—and desires in my heart, been so ardent for a reformation,—that we may come to that right use of things, where, living on a little, we may inhabit that holy mountain, in which they neither *hurt nor destroy*;—and may not only stand clear from oppressing our fellow-creatures, but may be so disentangled from connexions of interest with known oppressors, that in us may be fulfilled that prophecy, “Thou shalt *be far from* oppression.”

Under the weight of this exercise, the sight of innocent birds among the branches, and sheep in the pastures, who act according to the will of their Creator, hath at times tended to mitigate my trouble.

The 26th of the 8th month, 1772. Being now at George Crosfield’s, in the county of Westmoreland, I feel a concern to commit to writing, that which to me hath been a case uncommon.

In a time of sickness with the pleurisy, a little upward of two years and a half ago, I was brought so near the gates of death, that I forgot my name. Being then desirous to know who I was, I saw a mass of matter of a dull gloomy colour, between the south

and the east; and was informed that this mass was human beings, in as great misery as they could be, and live; and that I was mixed in with them, and henceforth might not consider myself as a distinct or separate being. In this state I remained several hours. I then heard a soft melodious voice, more pure and harmonious than any voice I had heard with my ears before; and I believed it was the voice of an angel who spake to the other angels. The words were—*John Woolman is dead.* I soon remembered that I once was John Woolman; and being assured that I was alive in the body, I greatly wondered what that heavenly voice could mean.

I believed, beyond doubting, that it was the voice of an holy angel;—but, as yet, it was a mystery to me.

I was then carried in spirit to the mines, where poor oppressed people were digging rich treasures for those called christians; and heard them blaspheme the name of Christ, at which I was grieved; for his name to me was precious.

Then I was informed that these heathen were told that those who oppressed them were the followers of Christ; and they said amongst themselves, If Christ directed them to use us in this sort, then Christ is a cruel tyrant.

All this time the song of the angel remained a mystery. And in the morning, my dear wife and some others coming to my bed-side, I asked them if they knew who I was: and they telling me I was John Woolman, thought I was only light-headed: for I told them not what the angel said, nor was I disposed to talk much to any one; but was very desirous to get so deep that I might understand this mystery.

My tongue was often so dry that I could not speak till I had moved it about and gathered some moisture; and as I lay still for a time, at length, I felt Divine power prepare my mouth that I could speak; and then I said, "I am crucified with Christ: nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: and the life which

I now live in the flesh, is by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me.”

Then the mystery was opened; and I perceived there was joy in heaven over a sinner who had repented; and that that language,—*John Woolman is dead*,—meant no more than the death of my own will.

Soon after this I coughed, and raised much bloody matter; which I had not done during this vision: and now my natural understanding returned as before.—Here I saw, that people getting silver vessels to set off their tables at entertainments, was often stained with worldly glory; and that in the present state of things, I should take heed how I fed myself from out of silver vessels.

Soon after my recovery, I, going to our monthly meeting, dined at a Friend's house, where drink was brought in silver vessels, and not in any other; and I, wanting some drink, told him my case with weeping; and he ordered some drink for me in another vessel.

The like I afterwards went through in several Friends' houses in America, and have also in England, since I came here: and have cause, with humble reverence, to acknowledge the loving-kindness of my heavenly Father, who hath preserved me in such a tender frame of mind, that none, I believe, have ever been offended at what I have said on that occasion.

After this sickness, I spake not in public meetings for worship for near one year; but my mind was very often in company with the oppressed slaves, as I sat in meetings. And though under this dispensation, I was shut up from speaking, yet the spring of the gospel ministry was, many times, livingly opened in me; and the Divine gift operated by abundance of weeping, in feeling the oppression of this people. It being so long since I passed through this dispensation, and the matter remaining fresh and livingly in my mind, I believe it safest for me to commit it to writing.

The 30th of 8th month. This morning I wrote a letter in substance as follows:

Beloved friend,—

My mind is often affected as I pass along, under a sense of the state of many poor people, who sit under that sort of ministry which requires much outward labour to support it; and the loving kindness of our heavenly Father, in opening a pure gospel ministry in this nation, hath often raised thankfulness in my heart toward him. I often remember the conflicts of the faithful under persecution, and now look at the free exercise of the pure gift, uninterrupted by outward laws, as a trust committed to us, which requires our deepest gratitude, and most careful attention. I feel a tender concern, that the work of reformation, so prosperously carried on in this land within a few ages past, may go forward and spread amongst the nations; and may not go backward, through dust gathering on our garments who have been called to a work so great and so precious.

Last evening I had a little opportunity at thy house, with some of thy family, in thy absence; in which I rejoiced: and feeling a sweetness on my mind toward thee, I now endeavour to open a little of the feeling I had there.

I have heard, that you, in these parts, have, at certain seasons, meetings of conference, in relation to Friends living up to our principles; in which several meetings unite in one; with which I feel unity: I having, in some measure, felt Truth lead that way amongst Friends in America; and have found, my dear friend, that, in these labours, all superfluities in our own living are against us. I feel that pure love toward thee, in which there is freedom.

I look at that precious gift bestowed on thee, with awfulness before Him who gave it: and feel a care that we may be so separated to the gospel of Christ, that those things which proceed from the spirit of this world, may have no place amongst us. Thy friend,

JOHN WOOLMAN.

I rested a few days, in body and mind, with our friend Jane Crosfield, who was once in America: was on the 6th day of the week, at Kendal in Westmoreland; and at Greyrig meeting the 30th of the month, and first of the week.

I have known poverty of late; and been graciously supported to keep in the patience: and am thankful, under a sense of the goodness of the Lord toward those that are of a contrite spirit.

6th of 9th month, and first of the week. Was this day at Counterside; a large meeting house, and very full: and through the opening of pure love, it was a strengthening time to me, and (I believe) to many more.

13th. Was this day at Richmond, a small meeting; but the town's people coming in, the house was crowded. It was a time of heavy labour; and I believe was a profitable meeting.

At this place I heard that my kinsman William Hunt, from North Carolina, who was on a religious visit to Friends in England, departed this life on the 9th day of the 9th month, instant, of the small-pox, at Newcastle. He appeared in the ministry when a youth; and his labours therein were of good savour. He travelled much in that work in America. I once heard him say in public testimony, that his concern was, in that visit, to be devoted to the service of Christ so fully, that he might not spend one minute in pleasing himself: which words, joined with his example, was a means of stirring up the pure mind in me.

Having of late travelled often in wet weather, thro' narrow streets in towns and villages, where was dirtiness under foot, and the scent arising from that filth which more or less infects the air of all thick settled towns; and I being but weakly, have felt distress both in body and mind with that which is impure.

In these journies I have been where much cloth hath been dyed; and sundry times have walked over ground where much of their dye-stuffs have drained away.

Here I have felt a longing in my mind, that people might come into cleanness of spirit, cleanness of person, cleanness about their houses and garments.

Some who are great, carry delicacy to a great height themselves, and yet the real cleanliness is not generally promoted. Dyes being invented partly to please the eye, and partly to hide dirt;—I have felt in this weak state, travelling in dirtiness and affected with unwholesome scents,—a strong desire that the nature of dyeing cloth to hide dirt may be more fully considered.

To hide dirt in our garments, appears opposite to the real cleanliness.

To wash garments, and keep them sweet; this appears cleanly.

Through giving way to hiding dirt in our garments, a spirit which would cover that which is disagreeable, is strengthened.

Real cleanness becometh a holy people: but hiding that which is not clean by colouring our garments, appears contrary to the sweetness of sincerity.

Through some sorts of dyes, cloth is less useful: and if the value of dye-stuffs, the expense of dyeing, and the damage done to cloth, were all added together, and that expense applied to keep all sweet and clean, how much more cleanly would people be!

On this visit to England I have felt some instructions sealed on my mind, which I am concerned to leave in writing, for the use of such who are called to the station of a minister of Christ.

Christ being the Prince of Peace, and we being no more than ministers, I find it necessary for us, not only to feel a concern in our first going forth, but to experience the renewing thereof in the appointment of meetings.

I felt a concern in America, to prepare for this voyage; and being through the mercy of God brought safe here, my heart was like a vessel that wanted vent; and for several weeks at first, when my mouth was opened in meetings, it often felt like the raising of a gate



in a water course, where a weight of water lay upon it; and in these labours there appeared a fresh visitation of love to many, especially the youth. But some time after this, I felt empty and poor, and yet felt a necessity to appoint meetings.

In this state I was exercised to abide in the pure life of Truth, and in all my labours to watch diligently against the motions of self in my own mind.

I have frequently felt a necessity to stand up, when the spring of the ministry was low, and to speak from the necessity, in that which subjecteth the will of the creature; and herein I was united with the suffering seed, and found inward sweetness in these mortifying labours.

As I have been preserved in a watchful attention to the Divine leader under these dispensations, enlargement at times hath followed, and the power of Truth hath rose higher in some meetings, than I ever knew it before through me.

Thus I have been more and more instructed, as to the necessity of depending, not upon a concern which I felt in America to come on a visit to England, but upon the fresh instructions of Christ, the prince of peace, from day to day.

Now of late, I have felt a stop in the appointment of meetings, not wholly but in part; and I do not feel liberty to appoint them so quick one after another as I have heretofore.

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The work of the ministry being a work of Divine love, I feel that the openings thereof are to be waited for, in all our appointments.

Oh! how deep is Divine wisdom! Christ puts forth his ministers, and goeth before them; and Oh! how great is the danger of departing from the pure feeling of that which leadeth safely!

Christ knoweth the state of the people, and in the pure feeling of the gospel ministry, their states are opened to his servants.

Christ knoweth when the fruit-bearing branches themselves have need of purging.

Oh! that these lessons may be remembered by me! and that all who appoint meetings, may proceed in the pure feeling of duty.

I have sometimes felt a necessity to stand up; but that spirit which is of the world hath so much prevailed in many, and the pure life of Truth been so pressed down, that I have gone forward,—not as one travelling in a road cast up, and well prepared, but as a man walking through a miry place, in which are stones here and there, safe to step on; but so situated that one step being taken, time is necessary to see where to step next.

Now I find that in pure obedience, the mind learns contentment in appearing weak and foolish to that wisdom which is of the world: and in these lowly labours, they who stand in a low place, rightly exercised under the cross, will find nourishment.

The gift is pure; and while the eye is single in attending thereto, the understanding is preserved clear; self is kept out; and we rejoice in filling up that which remains of the afflictions of Christ for his body's sake, which is the church.

The natural man loveth eloquence, and many love to hear eloquent orations: and if there is not a careful attention to the gift, men who have once laboured in the pure gospel ministry, growing weary of suffering, and ashamed of appearing weak,—may kindle a fire, compass themselves about with sparks, and walk in the light,—not of Christ who is under suffering,—but of that fire which they, going from the gift, have kindled: And that in hearers, which is gone from the meek suffering state, into the worldly wisdom, may be warmed with this fire, and speak highly of these labours. That which is of God gathers to God; and that which is of the world is owned by the world.

In this journey a labour hath attended my mind, that the ministers amongst us may be preserved in the meek feeling life of Truth, where we have no de-

sire but to follow Christ and be with him; that when he is under suffering we may suffer with him; and never desire to rise up in dominion, but as he by the virtue of his own spirit may raise us.

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A few days after writing these considerations, our dear friend in the course of his religious visits, came to the city of York, and attended most of the sittings of the Quarterly meeting there; but before it was over, was taken ill of the small-pox. Our friend Thomas Priestman and others who attended him, preserved the following minutes of his expressions in the time of his sickness, and of his decease.

First-day, the 27th of the 9th month, 1772. His disorder appeared to be the small-pox. Being asked to have a doctor's advice, he signified he had not freedom or liberty in his mind so to do; standing wholly resigned to His will who gave him life, and whose power he had witnessed to raise and heal him in sickness before, when he seemed nigh unto death; and if he was to wind up now, he was perfectly resigned, having no will either to live or die; and did not choose any should be sent for to him. But a young man, an apothecary, coming of his own accord the next day, and desiring to do something for him, he said he found a freedom to confer with him and the other Friends about him, and if any thing should be proposed, as to medicine, that did not come through defiled channels or oppressive hands, he should be willing to consider and take it, so far as he found freedom.

Second-day. He said he felt the disorder to affect his head, so that he could think little, and but as a child; and desired, if his understanding should be more affected, to have nothing given him that those about knew he had a testimony against.

Third-day, he uttered the following prayer:—"O Lord my God, the amazing horrors of darkness were gathered around me and covered me all over, and I

saw no way to go forth. I felt the depth and extent of the misery of my fellow-creatures separated from the divine harmony, and it was heavier than I could bear; and I was crushed down under it. I lifted up my hand,—I stretched out my arm; but there was none to help me. I looked round about and was amazed. In the depths of misery, O Lord! I remembered that thou art omnipotent;—that I had called thee Father;—and I felt that I loved thee; and I was made quiet in thy will; and I waited for deliverance from thee. Thou hadst pity upon me when no man could help me. I saw that meekness under suffering was showed to us in the most affecting example of thy Son, and thou wast teaching me to follow him; and I said, thy will O Father be done.”

Fourth-day morning, being asked how he felt himself, he meekly answered, “I don’t know that I have slept this night. I feel the disorder making its progress; but my mind is mercifully preserved in stillness and peace.” Some time after, he said he was sensible the pains of death must be hard to bear, but if he escaped them now, he must some time pass through them; and he did not know that he could be better prepared, but had no will in it. He said he had settled his outward affairs to his mind,—had taken leave of his wife and family as never to return,—leaving them to the Divine protection: adding, “And though I feel them near to me at this time, yet I freely give them up, having a hope that they will be provided for.” And a little after said, “This trial is made easier than I could have thought, my will being wholly taken away: for if I was anxious for the event it would have been harder; but I am not, and my mind enjoys a perfect calm.”

In the night, a young woman having given him something to drink, he said, “My child thou seems very kind to me, a poor creature; the Lord will reward thee for it.” A while after, he cried out with great earnestness of spirit, “Oh my Father! my Father!” and soon after he said, “Oh my Father! my

Father! how comfortable art thou to my soul in this trying season." Being asked if he could take a little nourishment; after some pause he replied, "My child, I cannot tell what to say to it: I seem nearly arrived where my soul shall have rest from all its troubles." After giving in something to be inserted in his Journal, he said, "I believe the Lord will now excuse me from exercises of this kind; and I see no work but one, which is to be the last wrought by me in this world; the messenger will come that will release me from all these troubles; but it must be in the Lord's time, which I am waiting for."

He said he had laboured to do whatever was required, according to the ability received, in the remembrance of which he had peace: and though the disorder was strong at times, and would like a whirlwind come over his mind; yet it had hitherto been kept steady and centred in everlasting love; adding, "And if that be mercifully continued, I ask nor desire no more." Another time he said; he had long had a view of visiting this nation; and some time before he came, had a dream, in which he saw himself in the northern parts of it, and that the spring of the gospel was opened in him much as in the beginning of Friends; such as George Fox and William Dewsberry, and he saw the different states of the people, as clear as he had ever seen flowers in a garden; but in his going along he was suddenly stopped, though he could not see for what end; but looking towards home, fell into a flood of tears, which waked him.

At another time he said, "My draught seemed strongest towards the North; and I mentioned in my own monthly meeting, that attending the Quarterly meeting at York, and being there looked like home to me."

Fifth-day night, having repeatedly consented to take medicine with a view to settle his stomach, but without effect; the friend then waiting on him, said through distress, "what shall I do now?" He answered with great composure, "Rejoice ever more, and in

every thing give thanks;" but added a little after, "This is sometimes hard to come at."

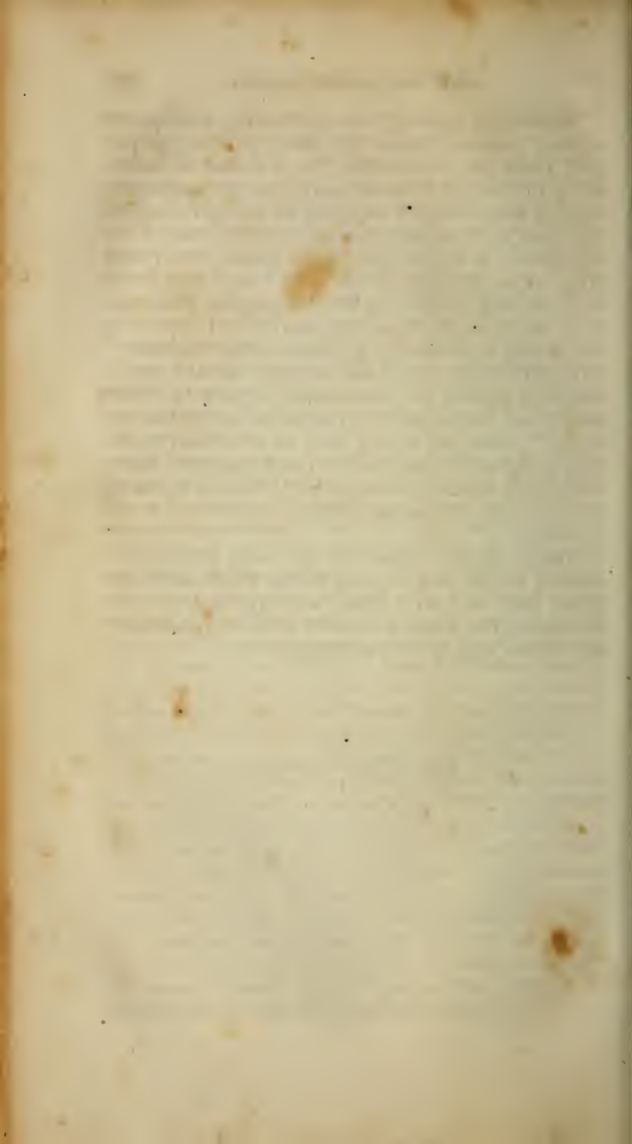
Sixth-day morning, he broke forth early in supplication on this wise: "O Lord, it was thy power that enabled me to forsake sin in my youth, and I have felt thy bruises for disobedience; but as I bowed under them, thou healed me, continuing a father and a friend: I feel thy power now, and I beg that in the approaching trying moment, thou wilt keep my heart steadfast unto thee." Upon his giving directions to a friend concerning some little things, she said, "I will take care, but hope thou wilt live to order them thyself;" he replied, "My hope is in Christ, and though I may seem a little better, a change in the disorder may soon happen, and my little strength be dissolved; and if it so happens, I shall be gathered to my everlasting rest." On her saying she did not doubt that, but could not help mourning to see so many faithful servants removed at so low a time; he said, "All good cometh from the Lord, whose power is the same, and can work as he sees best." The same day he had given directions about wrapping his corpse; and perceiving a friend to weep, he said, "I would rather thou wouldst guard against weeping for me, my sister; I sorrow not, though I have had some painful conflicts; but now they seem over, and matters well settled; and I look at the face of my dear Redeemer, for sweet is his voice and his countenance is comely."

First-day, 4th of the 10th month, being very weak and in general difficult to be understood, he uttered a few words in commemoration of the Lord's goodness; and added, "How tenderly have I been waited on in this time of affliction! in which I may say in Job's words, Tedious days and wearisome nights are appointed unto me; and how many are spending their time and money in vanity and superfluities, while thousands and tens of thousands want the necessaries of life, who might be relieved by them, and their distresses at such a time as this, in some degree softened by the administering suitable things!"

Second-day morning, the apothecary, who appeared very anxious to assist him, being present, he queried about the probability of such a load of matter being thrown off his weak body; and the apothecary making some remarks implying he thought it might; he spoke with an audible voice on this wise: "My dependance is in the Lord Jesus Christ, who I trust will forgive my sins, which is all I hope for: and if it be *his will* to raise up this body again, I am content: and if to die, I am resigned: and if thou canst not be easy without trying to assist nature, I submit." After which his throat was so much affected, that it was very difficult for him to speak so as to be understood, and he frequently wrote when he wanted any thing. About the second hour on fourth-day morning, he asked for pen and ink; and at several times, with much difficulty wrote thus; "I believe my being here is in the wisdom of Christ; I know not as to life or death."

About a quarter before six the same morning, he seemed to fall into an easy sleep, which continued about half an hour; when, seeming to awake, he breathed a few times with more difficulty, and expired without sigh, groan, or struggle.

END OF THE JOURNAL.





THE  
WORKS  
OF  
**JOHN WOOLMAN.**

1800

1800

SOME  
CONSIDERATIONS  
ON THE  
KEEPING OF NEGROES.

*Recommended to the Professors of Christianity of every  
Denomination.*

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INTRODUCTION.

Customs generally approved, and *opinions* received by youth from their superiors, become like the natural produce of a soil, especially when they are suited to favourite inclinations. But as the judgments of God are without partiality, by which the state of the soul must be tried, it would be the highest wisdom to forego customs and popular opinions, and try the treasures of the soul by the infallible standard TRUTH.

*Natural affection* needs a careful examination.— Operating upon us in a soft manner, it kindles desires of love and tenderness, and there is danger of taking it for something higher. To me it appears an instinct like that which inferior creatures have: each of them, we see, by the ties of nature, love *self* best; that which is a part of *self*, they love by the same tie or instinct. In them, it in some measure does the offices of reason; by which, among other things, they watchfully keep, and orderly feed their helpless offspring. Thus *natural affection* appears to be a branch of *self-love*; good in the animal race, in us likewise, with proper limitations; but otherwise is productive of evil, by exciting desires to promote *some* by means prejudicial to *others*.

Our blessed Lord seems to give a check to this irregular fondness in nature, and, at the same time, a precedent for us: "Who is my mother, and who are my brethren?" Thereby intimating, that the earthly ties of relationship, are comparatively, inconsiderable to such who through a steady course of obedience, have come to the happy experience of the spirit of God bearing witness with their spirits that they are his children:—"And he stretched forth his hands towards his disciples, and said, Behold my mother, and my brethren! For whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, (arrives at the more noble part of true relationship) the same is my brother, and sister, and mother." Matt. xii. 48.

This doctrine agrees well with a state truly complete, where *love* necessarily operates according to the agreeableness of things, on principles unalterable and in themselves perfect.

If endeavouring to have my children eminent amongst men after my death, be that which no reasons grounded on these principles can be brought to support; then, to be temperate in my pursuit after gain, and to keep always within the bounds of those principles, is an indispensable duty; and to depart from it, a dark unfruitful toil.

In our present condition, to *love* our children is needful; but except this *love* proceeds from the true heavenly principle which sees beyond earthly treasures, it will rather be injurious than of any real advantage to them. Where the fountain is corrupt, the streams must necessarily be impure.

That important injunction of our Saviour, Matt. vi. 33, with the promise annexed, contains a short but comprehensive view of our duty and happiness. If then the business of mankind in this life, is, to first seek another; if this cannot be done, but by attending to the means; if a summary of the means is, Not to do that to another which, in like circumstances, we would not have done unto us; then these are points

of moment, and worthy of our most serious consideration.

What I write on this subject is with reluctance, and the hints given are in as general terms as my concern would allow. I know it is a point about which, in all its branches, men that appear to aim well are not generally agreed; and for that reason, I choose to avoid being very particular.—If I may happily have let drop any thing that may excite such as are concerned in the practice to a close thinking on the subject treated of, the candid amongst them may easily do the subject such further justice, as, on an impartial inquiry, it may appear to deserve; and such an inquiry I would earnestly recommend.

## SOME CONSIDERATIONS, &c.

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Forasmuch as ye did it to the least of these my brethren, ye did it unto me.—*Matt. xxv. 40.*

As many times there are different motives to the same actions; and one does that from a generous heart, which another does for selfish ends;—the like may be said in this case.

There are various circumstances amongst them that keep negroes, and different ways by which they fall under their care; and, I doubt not, there are many well-disposed persons amongst them, who desire rather to manage wisely and justly in this difficult matter, than to make gain of it.

But the general disadvantage which these poor Africans lie under in an enlightened christian country, having often filled me with real sadness, and been like undigested matter on my mind,—I now think it my duty, through Divine aid, to offer some thoughts thereon to the consideration of others.

When we remember that all nations are of one blood, *Gen. xiii. 20*,—that in this world we are but sojourners,—that we are subject to the like afflictions and infirmities of body, the like disorders and frailties in mind, the like temptations, the same death, and the same judgment,—and that the all-wise Being is Judge and Lord over us all,—it seems to raise an idea of a general brotherhood, and a disposition easy to be touched with a feeling of each other's afflictions. But when we forget these things, and look chiefly at our outward circumstances, in this and some ages past; constantly retaining in our minds the distinction betwixt us and them, with respect to our knowledge and improvement in things divine, natural and artificial,—our breasts being apt to be filled with fond notions of

superiority,—there is danger of erring in our conduct toward them.

We allow them to be of the same species with ourselves; the odds is, we are in a higher station, and enjoy greater favours than they. And when it is thus, that our heavenly Father endoweth some of his children with distinguished gifts, they are intended for good ends: but if those thus gifted are thereby lifted up above their brethren, not considering themselves as debtors to the weak, nor behaving themselves as faithful stewards,—none who judge impartially can suppose them free from ingratitude.

When a people dwell under the liberal distribution of favours from heaven, it behoves them carefully to inspect their ways, and consider the purposes for which those favours were bestowed; lest, through forgetfulness of God, and misusing his gifts, they incur his heavy displeasure whose judgments are just and equal, who exalteth and humbleth to the dust as he seeth meet.

It appears, by holy record, that men under high favours have been apt to err in their opinions concerning others. Thus Israel, according to the description of the prophet Isaiah, when exceedingly corrupted and degenerated, yet remembered they were the chosen people of God; and could say, “Stand by thyself, come not near me, for I am holier than thou.” That this was no chance language, but their common opinion of other people, more fully appears, by considering the circumstances which attended when God was beginning to fulfil his precious promises concerning the gathering of the Gentiles.

The Most High, in a vision, undeceived Peter; first, prepared his heart to believe; and, at the house of Cornelius, showed him of a certainty, that God was no respecter of persons.

The effusion of the Holy Ghost upon a people, with whom they, the Jewish christians would not so much as eat, was strange to them. All they of the circumcision were astonished to see it: and the apostles and

brethren of Judea contended with Peter about it; till he, having rehearsed the whole matter, and fully shown that the Father's love was unlimited, they were thereat struck with admiration, and cried out, "Then hath God also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life!"

The opinion of peculiar favours being confined to them, was deeply rooted, or else the above instance had been less strange to them, for these reasons: First, They were generally acquainted with the writings of the prophets, by whom this time was repeatedly spoken of, and pointed at. Secondly, Our blessed Lord shortly before expressly said, "I have other sheep, not of this fold, them also must I bring," &c. Lastly, His words to them after his resurrection, at the very time of his ascension, "Ye shall be witnesses to me, not only in Jerusalem, Judea, and Samaria, but to the uttermost parts of the earth."

Those concurring circumstances, one would think, might have raised a strong expectation of seeing such a time: yet, when it came, it proved matter of offence and astonishment.

To consider mankind otherwise than brethren,—to think favours are peculiar to one nation, and exclude others, plainly supposes a darkness in the understanding. For, as God's love is universal, so where the mind is sufficiently influenced by it, it begets a likeness of itself, and the heart is enlarged towards all men. Again: to conclude a people froward, perverse, and worse by nature than others, (who ungratefully receive favours, and apply them to bad ends)—this will excite a behaviour toward them, unbecoming the excellence of true religion.

To prevent such error, let us calmly consider their circumstance; and, the better to do it, make their case ours. Suppose, then, that our ancestors and we had been exposed to constant servitude, in the more servile and inferior employments of life;—that we had been destitute of the help of reading and good company;—that amongst ourselves we had had few wise



and pious instructors;—that the religious amongst our superiors seldom took notice of us;—that while others, in ease, have plentifully heaped up the fruit of our labour, we had received barely enough to relieve nature; and, being wholly at the command of others, had generally been treated as a contemptible, ignorant part of mankind: should we, in that case, be less abject than they now are? Again; if oppression be so hard to bear, that a wise man is made mad by it, Eccl. vii. 7, then a series of those things, altering the behaviour and manners of a people, is what may reasonably be expected.

When our property is taken contrary to our mind, by means appearing to us unjust, it is only through Divine influence, and the enlargement of heart from thence proceeding, that we can love our reputed oppressors. If the negroes fall short in this, an uneasy, if not a disconsolate disposition will be awakened, and remain like seeds in their minds, producing sloth and many other habits appearing odious to us; with which, being free men, they perhaps had not been chargeable. These and other circumstances, rightly considered, will lessen that too great disparity which some make between us and them.

Integrity of heart hath appeared in some of them: so that, if we continue in the word of Christ (previous to discipleship, John viii. 31,) and our conduct toward them be seasoned with his love, we may hope to see the good effect of it: the which, in a good degree, is the case with some into whose hands they have fallen: but that too many treat them otherwise, not seeming conscious of any neglect, is, alas! too evident.

When self-love presides in our minds, our opinions are biassed in our own favour. In this condition, being concerned with a people so situated that they have no voice to plead their own cause, there is danger of using ourselves to an undisturbed partiality, till, by long custom, the mind becomes reconciled with it, and the judgment itself infected.

To humbly apply to God for wisdom, that we may thereby be enabled to see things as they are, and ought to be, is very needful. Hereby the hidden things of darkness may be brought to light, and the judgment made clear: we shall then consider mankind as brethren. Though different degrees and a variety of qualifications and abilities, one dependant on another, be admitted; yet high thoughts will be laid aside, and all men treated as becometh the sons of one father, agreeable to the doctrine of Christ Jesus.

“He hath laid down the best criterion, by which mankind ought to judge of their own conduct, and others judge for them of theirs, one towards another, viz. “Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them.” I take it, that all men by nature are equally entitled to the equity of this rule, and under the indispensable obligations of it. One man ought not to look upon another man, or society of men, as so far beneath him; but that he should put himself in their place, in all his actions towards them, and bring all to this test, viz. How should I approve of this conduct, were I in their circumstances, and they in mine?” A. Arscot’s Considerations, p. III. fol. 107.

This doctrine being of a moral, unchangeable nature, hath been likewise inculcated in the former dispensation. “If a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, ye shall not vex him: but the stranger that dwelleth with you, shall be as one born amongst you, and thou shalt love him as thyself.” Lev. xix. 33, 34. Had these people come voluntary and dwelt amongst us, to have called them strangers would be proper; and their being brought by force, with regret, and a languishing mind, may well raise compassion in a heart rightly disposed: but there is nothing in such treatment, which, upon a wise and judicious consideration, will any ways lessen their right of being treated as strangers. If the treatment which many of them meet with, be rightly examined, and compared with these precepts; “Thou shalt not vex

him nor oppress him; he shall be as one born amongst you, and thou shalt love him as thyself," Lev. xix. 33—Deut. xxvii. 19, there will appear an important difference betwixt them.

It may be objected there is cost of purchase, and risk of their lives to them who possess them, and therefore needful that they make the best use of their time. In a practice just and reasonable, such objections may have weight; but if the work be wrong from the beginning, there is little or no force in them. If I purchase a man who hath never forfeited his liberty, the natural right of freedom is in him; and shall I keep him and his posterity in servitude and ignorance? "How should I approve of this conduct, were I in his circumstances, and he in mine?" It may be thought, that to treat them as we would willingly be treated, our gain by them would be considerable: and it were, in divers respects, better that there were none in our country.

We may further consider that they are now amongst us, and those of our nation the cause of their being here;—that whatsoever difficulty accrues thereon, we are justly chargeable with, and to bear all inconveniences attending it, with a serious and weighty concern of mind to do our duty by them, is the best we can do. To seek a remedy by continuing the oppression, because we have power to do it and see others do it, will, I apprehend, not be doing as we would be done by.

How deeply soever men are involved in the most exquisite difficulties, sincerity of heart and upright walking before God, freely submitting to his providence, is the most sure remedy. He only is able to relieve, not only persons, but nations in their greatest calamities.

David, in a great strait, when the sense of his past error, and the full expectation of an impending calamity as the reward of it, were united to the aggravating his distress, after some deliberation, saith, "Let me fall now into the hand of the Lord, for very great

are his mercies; but let me not fall into the hand of man." 1 Chron. xxi. 13.

To act continually with integrity of heart, above all narrow or selfish motives, is a sure token of our being partakers of that salvation which "God hath appointed for walls and bulwarks," Isa. v. 26; and is, beyond all contradiction, a more happy situation than can ever be promised by the utmost reach of art and power united, not proceeding from heavenly wisdom.

A supply to nature's lawful wants, joined with a peaceful, humble mind, is the truest happiness in this life; and if here we arrive to this, and remain to walk in the path of the just, our case will be truly happy. And though herein we may part with, or miss of some glaring shows of riches, and leave our children little else but wise instructions, a good example, and the knowledge of some honest employment;—these, with the blessing of Providence, are sufficient for their happiness, and are more likely to prove so, than laying up treasures for them, which are often rather a snare, than any real benefit; especially to them, who, instead of being exampled to temperance, are in all things taught to prefer the getting of riches, and to eye the temporal distinctions they give, as the principal business of this life. These readily overlook the true happiness of man, as it results from the enjoyment of all things in the fear of God; and, miserably substituting an inferior good, dangerous in the acquiring, and uncertain in the fruition, they are subject to many disappointments; and every sweet carries its sting.

It is the conclusion of our blessed Lord and his apostles, as appears by their lives and doctrines, that the highest delights of sense, or most pleasing objects visible, ought ever to be accounted infinitely inferior to that real intellectual happiness suited to man in his primitive innocence, and now to be found in true renovation of mind;—and that the comforts of our present life, the things most grateful to us, ought always

to be received with temperance, and never made the chief objects of our desire, hope, or love: but that our whole heart and affections be principally looking to that "city which hath foundations, whose maker and builder is God." Did we so improve the gifts bestowed on us, that our children might have an education suited to these doctrines, and our example to confirm it, we might rejoice in hopes of their being heirs of an inheritance incorruptible.

This inheritance, as christians, we esteem the most valuable; and how then can we fail to desire it for our children? Oh! that we were consistent with ourselves, in pursuing means necessary to obtain it!

It appears, by experience, that where children are educated in fulness, ease and idleness,—evil habits are more prevalent, than in common amongst such who are prudently employed in the necessary affairs of life. And if children are not only educated in the way of so great temptation, but have also the opportunity of lording it over their fellow-creatures, and being masters of men in their childhood,—how can we hope otherwise than that their tender minds will be possessed with thoughts too high for them? Which, by continuance, gaining strength, will prove like a slow current, gradually separating them from (or keeping from acquaintance with) that humility and meekness in which alone lasting happiness can be enjoyed.

Man is born to labour; and experience abundantly showeth that it is for our good. But where the powerful lay the burden on the inferior, without affording a christian education, and suitable opportunity of improving the mind, and a treatment which we, in their case, should approve, that themselves may live at ease, and fare sumptuously, and lay up riches for their posterity;—this seems to contradict the design of Providence, and, I doubt, is sometimes the effect of a perverted mind: for while the life of one is made grievous by the rigour of another, it entails misery on both.

Amongst the manifold works of Providence, displayed in the different ages of the world, these which follow (with many others) may afford instruction:

Abraham was called of God to leave his country and kindred, to sojourn amongst strangers. Through famine and danger of death, he was forced to flee from one kingdom to another. He, at length, not only had assurance of being the father of many nations, but became a mighty prince. Gen. xxiii. 6.

Remarkable were the dealings of God with Jacob in a low estate; the just sense he retained of them after his advancement, appears by his words: "I am not worthy of the least of all thy mercies." Gen. xxxii. 10. xlviii. 15.

The numerous afflictions of Joseph were very singular; the particular providence of God therein, no less manifested. He, at length, became governor of Egypt, and famous for wisdom and virtue.

The series of troubles which David passed through, few amongst us are ignorant of; and yet he afterwards became as one of the great men of the earth.

Some evidences of the Divine wisdom appear in these things; in that such who are intended for high stations, have first been very low and dejected, that truth might be sealed on their hearts; and that the characters there imprinted by bitterness and adversity, might in after years remain; suggesting compassionate ideas, and, in their prosperity, quickening their regard to those in the like condition. Which yet further appears in the case of Israel: they were well acquainted with grievous sufferings, a long and rigorous servitude; then through many notable events, were made chief amongst the nations: to them we find a repetition of precepts to the purpose above-said.— Though for ends agreeable to infinite wisdom they were chose as a peculiar people for a time; yet the Most High acquaints them, that his love is not confined, but extends to the stranger; and, to excite their compassion, reminds them of times past. "Ye were strangers in the land of Egypt." Deut. x. 19. Again,

“Thou shalt not oppress a stranger, for ye know the heart of a stranger; seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.” Exod. xxiii. 9.

If we call to mind our beginning, some of us may find a time, wherein our fathers were under afflictions, reproaches, and manifold sufferings.

Respecting our progress in this land, the time is short since our beginning was small and our numbers few, compared with the native inhabitants. He that sleeps not by day nor by night, hath watched over us, and kept us as the apple of his eye. His Almighty arm hath been round about us, and saved us from dangers.

The wilderness and solitary deserts in which our fathers passed the days of their pilgrimage, are now turned into pleasant fields;—the natives are gone from before us, and we established peaceably in the possession of the land, enjoying our civil and religious liberties;—and, while many parts of the world have groaned under the heavy calamities of war, our habitation remains quiet, and our land fruitful.

When we trace back the steps we have trodden, and see how the Lord hath opened a way in the wilderness for us,—to the wise it will easily appear, that all this was not done to be buried in oblivion; but to prepare a people for more fruitful returns: and the remembrance thereof ought to humble us in prosperity, and excite in us a christian benevolence towards our inferiors.

If we do not consider these things aright, but, thro’ a stupid indolence, conceive views of interest, separate from the general good of the great brotherhood; and, in pursuance thereof, treat our inferiors with rigour, to increase our wealth, and gain riches for our children; “what then shall we do when God riseth up? and when he visiteth, what shall we answer him? Did not he that made us, make them? and did not one fashion us in the womb?” Job xxxi. 13, 14.

To our great Master we stand or fall, to judge or condemn us as is most suitable to his wisdom or au-

thority. My inclination is to persuade, and entreat, and simply give hints of my way of thinking.

If the christian religion be considered, both respecting its doctrines, and the happy influence which it hath on the minds and manners of all real christians, it looks reasonable to think that the miraculous manifestation thereof to the world, is a kindness beyond expression.

Are we the people thus favoured? Are we they whose minds are opened, influenced, and governed by the Spirit of Christ, and thereby made sons of God? Is it not a fair conclusion, that we, like our heavenly Father, ought in our degree to be active in the same great cause, of the eternal happiness of at least our whole families, and more, if thereto capacitated.

If we, by the operation of the Spirit of Christ, become heirs with him in the kingdom of his Father, and are redeemed from the alluring counterfeit joys of this world, and the joy of Christ remains in us,—to suppose that one remaining in this happy condition, can, for the sake of earthly riches, not only deprive his fellow-creatures of the sweetness of freedom, (which, rightly used, is one of the greatest temporal blessings,) but therewith neglect using proper means for their acquaintance with the holy scriptures, and the advantage of true religion,—seems, at least, a contradiction to reason.

Whoever rightly advocates the cause of some, thereby promotes the good of all. The state of mankind was harmonious in the beginning; and though sin hath introduced discord, yet through the wonderful love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord, the way is open for our redemption, and means are appointed to restore us to primitive harmony. That if one suffer by the unfaithfulness of another, the mind, the most noble part of him that occasions the discord, is thereby alienated from its true and real happiness.

Our duty and interest are inseparably united; and when we neglect or misuse our talents, we necessarily depart from the heavenly fellowship, and are in the way to the greatest of evils.



Therefore to examine and prove ourselves, to find what harmony the power presiding in us bears with the Divine nature, is a duty not more incumbent and necessary, than it would be beneficial.

In holy writ, the Divine Being saith of himself, "I am the Lord, which exercise loving-kindness, judgment and righteousness in the earth; for in these things I delight, saith the Lord." Jer. ix. 24. Again, speaking in the way of man, to show his compassion to Israel whose wickedness had occasioned a calamity, and then being humbled under it, it is said, "His soul was grieved for their miseries." Judges x. 16. If we consider the life of the blessed Saviour when on earth, as it is recorded by his followers, we shall find that one uniform desire for the eternal and temporal good of mankind, discovered itself in all his actions.

If we observe men, both apostles and others, in many different ages, who have really come to the unity of the Spirit and the fellowship of the saints, there still appears the like disposition; and in them the desire of the real happiness of mankind, has out-balanced the desire of ease, liberty, and many times life itself.

If upon a true search, we find that our natures are so far renewed, that to exercise righteousness and loving-kindness (according to our ability) towards all men, without respect of persons, is easy to us, or is our delight;—if our love be so orderly and regular, that he who doeth the will of our Father who is in heaven, appears in our view to be our nearest relation, our brother, and sister, and mother;—if this be our case, there is a good foundation to hope that the blessing of God will sweeten our treasures during our stay in this life, and our memory be savory, when we are entered into rest.

To conclude. It is a truth most certain, that a life guided by the wisdom from above, agreeable with justice, equity, and mercy, is throughout consistent and amiable, and truly beneficial to society; the seren-

ity and calmness of mind in it, affords an unparalleled comfort in this life, and the end of it is blessed.

And, no less true, that they who in the midst of high favours, remain ungrateful, and under all the advantages that a christian can desire, are selfish, earthly, and sensual, do miss the true fountain of happiness, and wander in a maze of dark anxiety, where all their treasures are insufficient to quiet their minds. Hence, from an insatiable craving, they neglect doing good with what they have acquired, and too often add oppression to vanity, that they may compass more.

“Oh! that they were wise, that they understood this, that they would consider their latter end!”—  
Deut. xxxii. 29.

CONSIDERATIONS  
ON THE  
KEEPING OF NEGROES.

*Recommended to the Professors of Christianity of every  
Denomination.*

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PART THE SECOND.

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Ye shall not respect persons in judgment; but ye shall hear the small as well as the great; ye shall not be afraid of the face of man; for the judgment is God's.—*Deut. i. 17.*

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PREFACE.

All our actions are of like nature with their root; and the Most High weigheth them more skilfully than men can weigh them one for another.

I believe that one Supreme Being made and supports the world; nor can I worship any other deity without being an idolater, and guilty of wickedness.

Many nations have believed in, and worshipped a plurality of deities; but I do not believe they were therefore all wicked. Idolatry indeed is wickedness; but it is the thing, not the name, which is so. Real idolatry is to pay that adoration to a creature, which is known to be due only to the true God.

He who professeth to believe one Almighty Creator, and in his son Jesus Christ, and is yet more intent on the honours, profits and friendships of the world, than he is in singleness of heart to stand faithful to the christian religion, is in the channel of idolatry: while the Gentile, who, under some mistaken opinions, is notwithstanding established in the true principle of virtue, and humbly adores an Almighty

power, may be of that number who fear God and work righteousness.

I believe the bishop of Rome assumes a power that does not belong to any officer in the church of Christ; and if I should knowingly do any thing tending to strengthen him in that capacity, it would be great iniquity. There are many thousands of people, who by their profession acknowledge him to be the representative of Jesus Christ on earth: and to say that none of them are upright in heart, would be contrary to my sentiments.

Men who sincerely apply their minds to true virtue, and find an inward support from above, by which all vicious inclinations are made subject; so that they love God sincerely, and prefer the real good of mankind universally to their own private interest: though these, through the strength of education and tradition, may remain under some speculative and great errors, it would be uncharitable to say, that therefore God rejects them.—He who creates, supports, and gives understanding to all men, his knowledge and goodness is superior to the various cases and circumstances of his creatures, which to us appear the most difficult.

The apostles and primitive christians did not censure all the Gentiles as wicked men. Rom. ii. 14. Col. iii. 11. But as they were favoured with a gift to discern things more clearly respecting the worship of the true God, they with much firmness declared against the worshipping of idols; and with true patience endured many sufferings on that account.

Great numbers of faithful Protestants have contended for the Truth, in opposition to papal errors; and with true fortitude laid down their lives in the conflict, without saying, That no man was saved who made profession of that religion.

While we have no right to keep men as servants for term of life, but that of superior power; to do this, with design by their labour to profit ourselves and our families, I believe is wrong: but I do not believe that all who have kept slaves, have therefore been charge-

able with guilt. If their motives thereto were free from selfishness, and their slaves content, they were a sort of freemen; which I believe hath sometimes been the case.

Whatever a man does in the spirit of charity, to him it is not sin: and while he lives and acts in this spirit, he learns all things essential to his happiness, as an individual: and if he doth not see that any injury or injustice to any other person, is necessarily promoted by any part of his form of government, I believe the merciful Judge will not lay iniquity to his charge. Yet others, who live in the same spirit of charity, from a clear conviction, may see the relation of one thing to another, and the necessary tendency of each; and hence it may be absolutely binding on them to desist from some parts of conduct, which some good men have been in.

## CONSIDERATIONS, &c.

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As some in most religious societies amongst the English are concerned in importing or purchasing the inhabitants of Africa as slaves; and as the professors of christianity of several other nations do the like; these circumstances tend to make people less apt to examine the practice so closely as they would, if such a thing had not been, but was now proposed to be entered upon. It is, however, our duty, and what concerns us individually, as creatures accountable to our Creator, to employ rightly the understanding which he hath given us, in humbly endeavouring to be acquainted with his will concerning us, and with the nature and tendency of those things which we practise. For, as justice remains to be justice; so, many people though of reputation in the world, joining with wrong things, do not excuse others in joining with them, nor make the consequence of their proceedings less dreadful in the final issue, than it would be otherwise.

Where unrighteousness is justified from one age to another, it is like dark matter gathering into clouds over us. We may know that this gloom will remain till the cause be removed by a reformation or change of times; and may feel a desire, from a love of equity, to speak on the occasion: yet where error is so strong that it may not be spoken against without some prospect of inconvenience to the speaker, this difficulty is likely to operate on our weakness, and quench the good desires in us; except we dwell so steadily under the weight of it, as to be made willing to "endure hardness" on that account.

Where men exert their talents against vices, generally accounted such, the ill effects whereof are pre-

sently perceived in a government, all men who regard their own temporal good, are likely to approve the work. But when that which is inconsistent with perfect equity, hath the law, or countenance of the great, in its favour; though the tendency thereof be quite contrary to the true happiness of mankind, in an equal, if not greater degree, than many things accounted reproachful to christians; yet, as these ill effects are not generally perceived, they who labour to dissuade from such things, which people believe accord with their interest, have many difficulties to encounter.

The repeated charges which God gave to his prophets, imply the danger they were in of erring on this hand. "Be not afraid of their faces; for I am with thee, to deliver thee, saith the Lord." Jer. i. 8. "Speak all the words that I command thee to speak to them, diminish not a word." Jer. xxvi. 2. "And thou, son of man, be not afraid of them, nor dismayed at their looks. Speak my words to them, whether they will hear or forbear." Ezek. ii. 6, 7.

Under an apprehension of duty, I offer some further considerations on this subject, having endeavoured some years to consider it candidly. I have observed people of our own colour, whose abilities have been inferior to the affairs which relate to their convenient subsistence, who have been taken care of by others, and the profit of such work as they could do, applied toward their support. I believe there are such amongst negroes; and that some people in whose hands they are, keep them with no view of outward profit,—do not consider them as black men, who, as such, ought to serve white men; but account them persons who have need of guardians, and as such take care of them. Yet where equal care is taken in all parts of education, I do not apprehend cases of this sort are likely to occur more frequently amongst one sort of people than another.

It looks to me that the slave trade was founded, and hath generally been carried on, in a wrong spirit;—that the effects of it are detrimental to the real prosperity of our country; and will be more so, except we cease from the common motives of keeping them, and treat them in future agreeable to truth and pure justice.

Negroes may be imported, who, for their cruelty to their countrymen, and the evil disposition of their minds, may be unfit to be at liberty; and if we, as lovers of righteousness, undertake the management of them, we should have a full and clear knowledge of their crimes, and of those circumstances which might operate in their favour; but the difficulty of obtaining this is so great, that we have great reason to be cautious therein. But, should it plainly appear that absolute subjection was a condition the most proper for the person who is purchased, yet the innocent children ought not to be made slaves, because their parents sinned.

We have account in holy scripture of some families suffering, where mention is only made of the heads of the family committing wickedness: and it is likely that the degenerate Jews, misunderstanding some occurrences of this kind, took occasion to charge God with being unequal; so that a saying became common; “The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children’s teeth are set on edge.” Jeremiah and Ezekiel, two of the inspired prophets who lived near the same time, were concerned to correct this error. Ezekiel is large on the subject. First, he reproves them for their error. “What mean ye, that ye do so?” chap. xviii. verse 2. “As I live, saith the Lord God, ye shall not have occasion any more to use this proverb in Israel.” The words, “any more,” have reference to time past; intimating, that though they had not rightly understood some things they had heard or seen, and thence supposed the proverb to be well grounded; yet henceforth they might know of a certainty, that the ways of God are all equal; that as sure as the Most High liveth, so sure men are only answer-



able for their own sins. He thus sums up the matter, ver. 20,—“The soul that sinneth, it shall die. The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father; neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son. The righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him; and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him.”

Where men are wicked, they commonly are a means of corrupting the succeeding age; and thereby hasten those outward calamities, which fall on nations when their iniquities are full.

Men may pursue means which are not agreeable to perfect purity, with a view to increase the wealth and happiness of their offspring; and thereby may make the way of virtue more difficult to them. And though the ill example of a parent, or a multitude, does not excuse a man in doing evil, yet the mind being early impressed with vicious notions and practices, and nurtured up in ways of getting treasure, which are not the ways of Truth: this wrong spirit getting first possession, and being thus strengthened, frequently prevents due attention to the true spirit of wisdom, so that they exceed in wickedness those who lived before them. And in this channel, though parents labour, as they think, to forward the happiness of their children, it proves a means of forwarding their calamity. This being the case, in the age next before the grievous calamity in the siege of Jerusalem, and carrying Judah captive to Babylon, they might say with propriety, This came upon us, because our fathers forsook God, and because we did worse than our fathers. See Jer. vii. 26.

As the generation next before them inwardly turned away from God, who yet waited to be gracious; and as they in that age continued in those things which necessarily separated from perfect goodness, growing more stubborn, till the judgments of God were poured out upon them; they might properly say, “Our fathers have sinned, and we have borne their iniquities.” Lam. v. 7. And yet, wicked as their fathers were, had they not succeeded them in

their wickedness, they had not borne their iniquities.

To suppose it right that an innocent man shall at this day be excluded from the common rules of justice;—be deprived of that liberty which is the natural right of human creatures;—and be a slave to others during life, on account of a sin committed by his immediate parents; or a sin committed by Ham, the son of Noah,—is a supposition too gross to be admitted into the mind of any person, who sincerely desires to be governed by solid principles.

It is alleged in favour of the practice, that Joshua made slaves of the Gibeonites.

What men do by the command of God, and what comes to pass as a consequence of their neglect, are different; such as the latter case now mentioned was. It was the express command of the Almighty to Israel, concerning the inhabitants of the promised land, “Thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor with their gods: They shall not dwell in thy land.” *Exod. xxiii. 32.* Those Gibeonites came craftily, telling Joshua that they were come from a far country;—that their elders had sent them to make a league with the people of Israel; and as an evidence of their being foreigners, showed their old clothes, &c. “And the men took of their victuals, and asked not counsel at the mouth of the Lord: and Joshua made peace with them, and made a league with them, to let them live; and the princes sware to them.” *Josh. ix. 14, 15.*

When the imposition was discovered, the congregation murmured against the princes: “But all the princes said to all the congregation, we have sworn to them by the Lord God of Israel; now therefore we may not touch them: we will even let them live, lest wrath be upon us; but let them be hewers of wood and drawers of water unto the congregation.”

Omitting to ask counsel, involved them in great difficulty. The Gibeonites were of those cities, of which the Lord had said, “Thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth;” and of the stock of the Hivites,

concerning whom he commanded by name, "Thou shalt smite them, and utterly destroy them: Thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor show mercy unto them." Deut. vii. 1. Thus Joshua and the princes, not knowing them, had made a league with them to let them live; and in this strait they resolved to make them servants. Joshua and the princes suspected them to be deceivers:—"Peradventure you dwell amongst us; and how shall we make a league with you!" Which words show, that they remembered the command before-mentioned; and yet did not inquire at the mouth of the Lord, as Moses directed Joshua, when he gave him a charge respecting his duty as chief man among that people. Numb. xxvii. 21. By this omission, things became so situated, that Joshua and the princes could not execute the judgments of God on them, without violating the oath which they had made.

Moses did amiss at the waters of Meribah: and doubtless he soon repented; for the Lord was with him.— And it is likely that Joshua was deeply humbled under a sense of his omission; for it appears that God continued him in his office, and spared the lives of those people, for the sake of the league and oath made in his name.

The wickedness of these people was great, and they worthy to die, or perfect justice had not passed sentence of death upon them; and as their execution was prevented by this league and oath, they appear content to be servants: "As it seemeth good and right unto thee to do unto us, do."

These criminals, instead of death, had the sentence of servitude pronounced on them in these words:—"Now therefore ye are cursed; and there shall none of you be freed from being bondmen, and hewers of wood and drawers of water for the house of my God."

We find, Deut. xx. 10, that there were cities far distant from Canaan, against which Israel went to battle; unto whom they were to proclaim peace; and if

the inhabitants made answer of peace and opened their gates, they were not to destroy them, but make them tributaries.

The children of Israel were then the Lord's host, and executioners of his judgments on people hardened in wickedness. They were not to go to battle, but by his appointment. The men who were chief in his army, had their instructions from the Almighty; sometimes immediately, and sometimes by the ministry of angels. Of these, amongst others, were Moses, Joshua, Othniel, and Gideon. See Exod. iii. 2, and xviii. 19. Josh. v. 13. These people far off from Canaan, against whom Israel was sent to battle, were so corrupt that the Creator of the universe saw it good to change their situation: and in case of their opening their gates, and coming under tribute, this their subjection, tho' probably more mild than absolute slavery, was to last little or no longer than while Israel remained in the true spirit of government.

It was pronounced by Moses the prophet, as a consequence of their wickedness, "The stranger that is within thee shall get above thee very high; and thou shalt come down very low: he shall be the head, and thou the tail." Deut. xxviii. 43, 44.

This we find in some measure verified in their being made tributaries to the Moabites, Midianites, Amorites and Philistines.

It is alleged in favour of the practice of slave keeping, that the Jews by their law made slaves of the heathen. Levit. xxv. 45. "Moreover, of the children of the strangers that do sojourn amongst you, of them shall ye buy, and of their children, which are with you, which they begat in your land: and they shall be your possession, and you shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them as a possession; they shall be your bondmen for ever." It is difficult for us to have any certain knowledge of the mind of Moses, in regard to keeping slaves, any other way than by looking upon him as a true servant of God, whose mind and conduct were regulated by

an inward principle of justice and equity. To admit a supposition that he in that case was drawn from perfect equity by the alliance of outward kindred, would be to disown his authority.

Abraham had servants born in his house, and bought with his money: And the Almighty said of Abraham, I know him, that he will order his house after him. Which implies that he was as a father, an instructor, and a good governor over his people. And Moses, considered as a man of God, must necessarily have had a prospect of some real advantage in the strangers and heathens being servants to the Israelites for a time.

As mankind had received and established many erroneous opinions and hurtful customs, their living and conversing with the Jews, while the Jews stood faithful to their principles, might be helpful to remove those errors, and reform their manners. But for men, with private views, to assume an absolute power over the persons and properties of others; and continue it from age to age in the line of natural generation, without regard to the virtues and vices of their successors;—as it is manifestly contrary to true universal love, and attended with great evils, there requires the clearest evidence to beget a belief in us, that Moses intended that the strangers should, as such, be slaves to the Jews.

He directed them to buy strangers and sojourners. It appears that there were strangers in Israel who were free men. And considering with what tenderness and humanity the Jews, by their law, were obliged to use their servants, and what care was to be taken to instruct them in the true religion, it is not unlikely that some strangers in poverty and distress were willing to enter into bonds to serve the Jews as long as they lived: and in such case the Jews, by their law, had a right to their service during life.

When the awl was bored through the ear of the Hebrew servant, the text saith, "He shall serve for ever;" yet we do not suppose that by the word "for

ever," it was intended that none of his posterity should afterwards be free. When it is said in regard to the strangers which they bought, "they shall be your possession," it may be well understood to mean only the persons so purchased: all preceding relates to buying them; and what follows, to the continuance of their service. "You shall take them as an inheritance to your children after you; they shall be your bondmen for ever." It may be well understood to stand limited to those they purchased.

Moses, directing Aaron and his sons to wash their hands and feet, when they went into the tabernacle of the congregation, saith, "It shall be a statute for ever to them, even to him and his seed throughout all generations." And to express the continuance of the law, it was his common language, "It shall be a statute for ever throughout your generations." So that had he intended the posterity of the strangers so purchased to continue in slavery to the Jews, it looks likely that he would have used some terms clearly to express it. The Jews undoubtedly had slaves, whom they kept as such from one age to another: but that this was agreeable to the genuine design of their inspired law-giver, is far from being a clear case.

Making constructions of the law contrary to the true meaning of it, was common amongst that people. Samuel's sons took bribes, and perverted judgment. Isaiah complained that they justified the wicked for reward. Zephaniah, contemporary with Jeremiah, on account of the injustice of the civil magistrates, declared that those judges were evening wolves; and that the priests did violence to the law.

Jeremiah acquaints us, that the priests cried peace, peace, when there was no peace; by which means the people grew bold in their wickedness; and having committed abominations, were not ashamed: but, through wrong constructions of the law, they justified themselves, and boastingly said, "We are wise; and the law of the Lord is with us." These corruptions continued till the days of the Saviour, who told the Phari-

sees, "You have made the commandment of God of none effect through your tradition."

Thus it appears that they corrupted the law of Moses; nor is it unlikely that among many others this was one; for oppressing the strangers was a heavy charge against the Jews, and very often strongly represented by the Lord's faithful prophets.

That the liberty of man was, by the inspired law-giver, esteemed precious, appears in this;—that such who unjustly deprived men of it, were to be punished in like manner as if they had murdered them.—"He that stealeth a man, and selleth him; or if he be found in his hand, shall surely be put to death." This part of the law was so considerable, that Paul, the learned Jew, giving a brief account of the uses of the law, adds this, "It was made for men-stealers." 1 Tim. i. 10.

The great men amongst that people were exceedingly oppressive; and, it is likely, exerted their whole strength and influence to have the law construed to suit their turns. The honest servants of the Lord had heavy work with them in regard to their oppression; a few instances follow: "Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, amend your ways, and your doings; and I will cause you to dwell in this place. If you thoroughly execute judgment between a man and his neighbour; if you oppress not the stranger, the fatherless and the widow; and shed not innocent blood in this place; neither walk after other gods to your hurt, then will I cause you to dwell in this place." Jer. vii. Again, a message was sent not only to the inferior ministers of justice, but also to the chief ruler. "Thus saith the Lord, go down to the house of the king of Judah, and speak there this word: execute ye judgment and righteousness, and deliver the spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor; and do no wrong; do no violence to the stranger, the fatherless and the widow; neither shed innocent blood in this place." Then adds, that in so doing they should prosper; "but if ye will not hear these words, I swear by myself, saith the

Lord, that this house shall become a desolation." Jer. xxii.

The king, the princes and rulers, were agreed in oppression before the Babylonish captivity: for, whatever courts of justice were retained amongst them; or however they decided matters betwixt men of estates, it is plain that the cause of the poor was not judged in equity.

It appears that the great men amongst the Jews were fully resolved to have slaves, even of their own brethren. Jer. xxxiv. Notwithstanding the promises and threatenings of the Lord, by the prophet, and their solemn covenant to set them free, confirmed by the imprecation of passing between the parts of a calf cut in twain; intimating, by that ceremony, that on breach of the covenant, it were just for their bodies to be so cut in pieces;—yet after all, they held fast to their old custom, and called home the servants whom they had set free. "And ye were now turned, and had done right in my sight, in proclaiming liberty every man to his neighbour; and ye had made a covenant before me, in the house which is called by my name. But ye turned, and polluted my name, and caused every man his servant, whom he had set at liberty at their pleasure, to return, and brought them into subjection, to be unto you for servants, and for handmaids. Therefore thus saith the Lord; ye have not hearkened unto me, in proclaiming liberty every one to his neighbour, and every one to his brother. Behold, I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine; and I will make you to be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth. The men who transgressed my covenant which they made, and passed between the parts of the calf, I will give into the hands of their enemies, and their dead bodies shall be for meat unto the fowls of the heaven, and the beasts of the earth."

Soon after this their city was taken and burnt; the king's sons and the princes slain; and the king, with the chief men of his kingdom, carried captive to Ba-



bylon. Ezekiel, prophesying the return of that people to their own land, directs, "Ye shall divide the land by lot, for an inheritance unto you, and to the strangers that sojourn amongst you; in what tribe the stranger sojourns, there shall ye give him his inheritance, saith the Lord God." Nor is this particular direction, and the authority with which it is enforced, without a tacit implication, that their ancestors had erred in their conduct towards the stranger.

Some who keep slaves, have doubted as to the equity of the practice; but as they knew men, noted for their piety, who were in it; this, they say, has made their minds easy.

To lean on the example of men in doubtful cases, is difficult: for only admit, that those men were not faithful and upright to the highest degree, but that in some particular case they erred, and it may follow that this one case was the same, about which we are in doubt; and to quiet our minds by their example, may be dangerous to ourselves; and continuing in it, may prove a stumbling block to tender-minded people who succeed us, in like manner as their examples are to us.

But, supposing charity was their only motive, and they not foreseeing the tendency of paying robbers for their booty, were not justly under the imputation of being partners with a thief, Prov. xxix. 24, but were really innocent in what they did, are we assured that we keep them with the same views they kept them? If we keep them from no other motive than a real sense of duty, and true charity governs us in all our proceedings toward them, we are so far safe: but if another spirit, which inclines our minds to the ways of this world, prevail upon us, and we are concerned for our own outward gain more than for their real happiness, it will avail us nothing that some good men have had the care and management of negroes.

Since mankind spread upon the earth, many have been the revolutions attending the several families;

and their customs and ways of life have been different from each other. This diversity of manners, though some are preferable to others, operates not in favour of any, so far as to justify them to do violence to innocent men; or to bring them from their own to another way of life. The mind, when moved by a principle of true love, may feel a warmth of gratitude to the universal Father, and a lively sympathy with those nations, where Divine light has been less manifest.

This desire for their real good may beget a willingness to undergo hardships for their sakes, that the true knowledge of God may be spread amongst them. But to take them from their own land, with views of profit to ourselves, by means inconsistent with pure justice, is foreign to that principle which seeks the happiness of the whole creation. Forced subjection of innocent persons of full age, is inconsistent with right reason. On one side, the human mind is not naturally fortified with that firmness in wisdom and goodness necessary to an independent ruler; on the other side, to be subject to the uncontrollable will of a man, liable to err, is most painful and afflicting to a conscientious creature.

It is our happiness faithfully to serve the Divine Being, who made us. His perfection makes our service reasonable; but so long as men are biassed by narrow self-love, so long an absolute power over other men is unfit for them.

Men, taking on them the government of others, may intend to govern reasonably, and to make their subjects more happy than they would be otherwise. But, as absolute command belongs only to him who is perfect, where frail men, in their own wills, assume such command, it hath a direct tendency to vitiate their minds, and make them more unfit for government.

Placing on men the ignominious title, SLAVE,—dressing them in uncomely garments,—keeping them to servile labour, in which they are often dirty,—tends gradually to fix a notion in the mind, that they

are a sort of people below us in nature, and leads us to consider them as such in all our conclusions about them. And, moreover, a person which in our esteem is mean and contemptible, if their language or behaviour toward us is unseemly or disrespectful, it excites wrath more powerfully than the like conduct in one we accounted our equal or superior: and where this happens to be the case, it disqualifies for candid judgment; for it is unfit for a person to sit as judge in a case where his own personal resentments are stirred up; and, as members of society in a well framed government, we are mutually dependent. Present interest incites to duty, and makes each man attentive to the convenience of others: but he whose will is a law to others, and can enforce obedience by punishment; he whose wants are supplied without feeling any obligation to make equal returns to his benefactor, his irregular appetites find an open field for motion, and he is in danger of growing hard, and inattentive to their convenience who labour for his support; and so loses that disposition in which alone men are fit to govern.

The English government hath been commended by candid foreigners for the disuse of racks and tortures, so much practised in some states; but this multiplying slaves now leads to it. For, where people exact hard labour of others, without a suitable reward, and are resolved to continue in that way, severity to such who oppose them becomes the consequence: and several negro criminals, among the English in America, have been executed in a lingering, painful way, very terrifying to others.

It is a happy case to set out right, and persevere in the same way. A wrong beginning leads into many difficulties; for, to support one evil another becomes customary: two produces more: and the further men proceed in this way, the greater their dangers, their doubts and fears; and the more painful and perplexing are their circumstances. So that such who are true friends to the real and lasting interest of our country,

and candidly consider the tendency of things, cannot but feel some concern on this account.

There is that superiority in men over the brute creatures, and some of them are so manifestly dependent on men for a living, that for them to serve us in moderation, so far as relates to the right use of things, looks consonant to the design of our Creator.

There is nothing in their frame, nothing relative to the propagating their species, which argues the contrary; but in men there is. The frame of men's bodies, and the disposition of their minds, are different. Some, who are tough and strong, and their minds active, choose ways of life requiring much labour to support them; others are soon weary. And though use makes labour more tolerable, yet some are less apt for toil than others, and their minds less sprightly. These latter labouring for their subsistence, commonly choose a life easy to support, being content with a little. When they are weary they may rest,—take the most advantageous part of the day for labour; and in all cases proportion one thing to another, so that their bodies be not oppressed.

Now, while each is at liberty, the latter may be as happy, and live as comfortably as the former. But, where men of the first sort having the latter under absolute command, and not considering the odds in strength and firmness, do sometimes, in their eager pursuit, lay on burdens grievous to be borne; by degrees grow rigorous; and, aspiring to greatness, they increase oppression, and the true order of kind Providence is subverted.

There are weaknesses sometimes attending us, which make little or no alteration in our countenances, nor much lessen our appetite for food, and yet so affect us, as to make labour very uneasy. In such case, masters, intent on putting forward business, and jealous of the sincerity of their slaves, may disbelieve what they say, and grievously afflict them.

Action is necessary for all men, and our exhausting frame requires a support, which is the fruit of action.

The earth must be laboured to keep us alive. Labour is a proper part of our life; to make one answer the other in some useful motion, looks agreeable to the design of our Creator. Motion, rightly managed, tends to our satisfaction, health, and support.

Those who quit all useful business, and live wholly on the labour of others, have their exercise to seek. Some such use less than their health requires; others choose that which, by the circumstances attending it, proves utterly reverse to true happiness. Thus, while some are divers ways distressed for want of an open channel of useful action, those who support them sigh and are exhausted in a stream too powerful for nature, spending their days with too little cessation from labour.

Seed, sown with the tears of a confined oppressed people;—harvests cut down by an overborne discontented reaper,—makes bread less sweet to the taste of an honest man, than that which is the produce or just reward of such voluntary action, which is one proper part of the business of human creatures.

Again, the weak state of the human species in bearing and bringing forth their young, and the helpless condition of their young beyond that of other creatures, clearly show that Perfect Goodness designs a tender care and regard should be exercised toward them; and that no imperfect, arbitrary power should prevent the cordial effects of that sympathy, which is in the minds of well-met pairs to each other, and toward their offspring.

In our species, the mutual ties of affection are more rational and durable than in others below us;—the care and labour of raising our offspring, much greater. The satisfaction arising to us in their innocent company, and in their advances from one rational improvement to another, is considerable, when two are thus joined, and their affections sincere. It however happens among slaves, that they are often situate in different places; and their seeing each other depends on the will of men, liable to human passions, and a

bias in judgment; who, with views of self-interest, may keep them apart more than is right. Being absent from each other, and often with other company, there is a danger of their affections being alienated, jealousies arising, the happiness otherwise resulting from their offspring frustrated, and the comforts of marriage destroyed. These things being considered closely, as happening to a near friend, will appear to be hard and painful.

He who reverently observes that goodness manifested by our gracious Creator toward the various species of beings in this world, will see, that in our frame and constitution is clearly shown, that innocent men, capable to manage for themselves, were not intended to be slaves.

A person lately travelling amongst the negroes near Senegal, hath this remark; "Which way soever I turned my eyes on this pleasant spot, I beheld a perfect image of pure nature; an agreeable solitude, bounded on every side by charming landscapes,—the rural situation of cottages in the midst of trees,—the ease and indolence of the negroes, reclined under the shade of their spreading foliage;—the simplicity of their dress and manners;—the whole revived in my mind the idea of our first parents, and I seemed to contemplate the world in its primitive state." M. Adanson, page 55.

Some negroes in these parts, who have had an agreeable education, have manifested a brightness of understanding equal to many of us. A remark of this kind we find in Bosman, page 328. "The negroes of Fida," saith he, "are so accurately quick in their merchandize accounts, that they easily reckon as justly and quickly in their heads only, as we with the assistance of pen and ink, though the sum amounts to several thousands."

Through the force of long custom, it appears needful to speak in relation to colour. Suppose a white child, born of parents of the meanest sort, who died and left him an infant, falls into the hands of a person

who endeavours to keep him a slave;—some men would account him an unjust man in doing so, who yet appear easy while many black people, of honest lives and good abilities, are enslaved in a manner more shocking than the case here supposed. This is owing chiefly to the idea of slavery being connected with the black colour, and liberty with the white: and where false ideas are twisted into our minds, it is with difficulty we get fairly disentangled.

A traveller in cloudy weather, misseth his way,—makes many turns while he is lost,—and still forms in his mind the bearing and situation of places; and though the ideas are wrong, they fix as fast as if they were right. Finding how things are, we see our mistake; yet the force of reason, with repeated observations on places and things, do not soon remove those false notions, so fastened upon us; but it will seem, in the imagination, as if the annual course of the sun was altered: and though, by recollection, we are assured it is not, yet those ideas do not suddenly leave us.

Selfishness being indulged, clouds the understanding; and where selfish men, for a long time, proceed on their way without opposition, the deceivableness of unrighteousness gets so rooted in their intellects, that a candid examination of things relating to self-interest is prevented. And in this circumstance, some who would not agree to make a slave of a person whose colour is like their own, appear easy in making slaves of others of a different colour; though their understandings and morals are equal to the generality of men of their own colour.

The colour of a man avails nothing in matters of right and equity. Consider colour in relation to treaties; by such, disputes betwixt nations are sometimes settled. And should the Father of us all so dispose things, that treaties with black men should sometimes be necessary, how then would it appear amongst the princes and ambassadors, to insist on the prerogative of the white colour?

Whence is it that men, who believe in a righteous omnipotent Being, to whom all nations stand equally related, and are equally accountable,—remain so easy in it; but for that the ideas of negroes and slaves are so interwoven in the mind, that they do not discuss this matter with that candour and freedom of thought, which the case justly calls for?

To come at a right feeling of their condition, requires humble, serious thinking; for, in their present situation, they have but little to engage our natural affection in their favour.

Had we a son or a daughter involved in the same case in which many of them are, it would alarm us, and make us feel their condition without seeking for it. The adversity of an intimate friend will incite our compassion, while others, equally good, in the like trouble, will but little affect us.

Again, the man in worldly honour, whom we consider as our superior, treating us with kindness and generosity, begets a return of gratitude and friendship toward him. We may receive as great benefits from men a degree lower than ourselves, in the common way of reckoning, and feel ourselves less engaged in favour of them. Such is our condition by nature; and these things being narrowly watched and examined, will be found to centre in self-love.

The blacks seem far from being our kinsfolks; and did we find an agreeable disposition and sound understanding in some of them, which appeared as a good foundation for a true friendship between us, the disgrace arising from an open friendship with a person of so vile a stock, in the common esteem, would naturally tend to hinder it. They have neither honours, riches, outward magnificence nor power;—their dress coarse, and often ragged;—their employ drudgery, and much in the dirt:—they have little or nothing at command; but must wait upon and work for others to obtain the necessaries of life: so that, in their present situation, there is not much to engage the



friendship, or move the affection of selfish men. But such who live in the spirit of true charity, to sympathize with the afflicted in the lowest stations of life, is a thing familiar to them.

Such is the kindness of our Creator, that people, applying their minds to sound wisdom, may, in general, with moderate exercise, live comfortably, where no misapplied power hinders it. We in these parts have cause gratefully to acknowledge it. But men leaving the true use of things, their lives are less calm, and have less of real happiness in them.

Many are desirous of purchasing and keeping slaves, that they may live in some measure conformable to those customs of the times, which have in them a tincture of luxury. For when we, in the least degree, depart from that use of the creatures, for which the Creator of all things intended them, there luxury begins.

And if we consider this way of life seriously, we shall see there is nothing in it sufficient to induce a wise man to choose it, before a plain, simple way of living. If we examine stately buildings and equipage, delicious food, superfine clothes, silks and linens;—if we consider the splendour of choice metal fastened upon raiment, and the most showy inventions of men; it will yet appear that the humble-minded man, who is contented with the true use of houses, food and garments, and cheerfully exerciseth himself agreeable to his station in civil society, to earn them,—acts more reasonably, and discovers more soundness of understanding in his conduct, than such who lay heavy burdens on others to support themselves in a luxurious way of living.

George Buchanan, in his *History of Scotland*, page 62, tells of some ancient inhabitants of Britain, who were derived from a people that “had a way of marking their bodies, as some said, with instruments of iron, with variety of pictures, and with animals of all shapes, and wear no garments, that they should not hide their pictures; and were therefore called Picts.”

Did we see those people shrink with pain, for a considerable time together, under the point or edge of this iron instrument, and their bodies all bloody with the operation;—did we see them sometimes naked, suffering with cold, and refuse to put on garments, that those imaginary ensigns of grandeur might not be concealed;—it is likely we should pity their folly and fondness for those things: but if we candidly compare their conduct, in that case, with some conduct amongst ourselves, will it not appear that our folly is the greatest?

In true gospel simplicity, free from all wrong use of things, a spirit which breathes peace and good will is cherished: but when we aspire after imaginary grandeur, and apply to selfish means to attain our end, this desire, in its origin, is the same with the Picts in cutting figures on their bodies; but the evil consequences attending our proceedings are the greatest.

A covetous mind, which seeks opportunity to exalt itself, is a great enemy to true harmony in a country. Envy and grudging usually accompany this disposition, and it tends to stir up its likeness in others.—And where this disposition ariseth so high as to embolden us to look upon honest industrious men as our own property during life, and to keep them to hard labour to support us in those customs which have not their foundation in right reason, or to use any means of oppression; a haughty spirit is cherished on one side, and the desire of revenge frequently on the other, till the inhabitants of the land are ripe for great commotion and trouble. And thus luxury and oppression have the seeds of war and desolation in them.

*Some Account of the Slave Trade, taken from the writings of persons who have been at the places where they are first purchased.*

Bosman on Guinea, who was a factor for the Dutch about sixteen years in that country, (page 339) thus

remarks: "But since I have so often mentioned that commerce, I shall describe how it is managed by our factors. The first business of one of our factors, when he comes to Fida, is to satisfy the customs of the king, and the great men, which amounts to about one hundred pounds in Guinea value, as the goods must sell there. After which we have free license to trade, which is published throughout the whole land by the crier. And yet, before we can deal with any person, we are obliged to buy the king's whole stock of slaves at a set price; which is commonly one third or fourth higher than ordinary: after which, we have free leave to deal with all his subjects, of what rank soever.—But if there happen to be no stock of slaves, the factor must resolve to run the risk of trusting the inhabitants with goods to the value of one or two hundred slaves; which commodities they send into the inland country, in order to buy with them slaves at all markets, and that sometimes two hundred miles deep in the country: for you ought to be informed that markets of men are here kept in the same manner as those of beasts are with us.

"Most of the slaves which are offered to us, are prisoners of war, which are sold by the victors as their booty.—When these slaves come to Fida, they are put in prisons all together; and when we treat concerning them, they are all brought out in a large plain, where, by our surgeons, whose province it is, they are thoroughly examined, even to the smallest member, and that naked, both men and women, without the least distinction or modesty. Those which are approved as good, are set on one side. The invalids and maimed being thrown out, the remainder are numbered, and it is entered who delivered them.—In the meanwhile, a burning iron, with the arms or name of the company, lies in the fire, with which ours are marked on the breast. This is done, that we may distinguish them from the slaves of the English, French, or others. When we have agreed with the owners of the slaves, they are returned to their pri-

sons, where, from that time forward, they are kept at our charge; cost us two-pence a day a slave, which serves to subsist them, like our criminals, on bread and water: so that, to save charges, we send them on board our ships the first opportunity; before which their masters strip them of all they have on their backs, so that they come aboard stark naked, as well women as men; in which condition they are obliged to continue, if the master of the ship is not so charitable (which he commonly is) as to bestow something on them, to cover their nakedness."

Same author, page 310—"The inhabitants of Popo, as well as those of Coto, depend on plunder and the slave trade, in both which they very much exceed the latter; for being endowed with more courage, they rob more successfully, and by that means increase their trade. Notwithstanding which, to freight a vessel with slaves, requires some months attendance. In the year 1697, in three days time I could get but three slaves; but they assured me, that if I would have patience for other three days only, they should be able to deliver one or two hundred."

Bosman, page 440—"We cast anchor at cape Mizurada, but not one negro coming on board, I went on shore; and being desirous to be informed why they did not come on board, was answered, That about two months before, the English had been there with two vessels, and had ravaged the country, destroyed all their canoes, plundered their houses, and carried off some of their people for slaves; upon which the remainder fled to the inland country. They tell us they live in peace with all their neighbours, and have no notion of any other enemy than the English; of which nation they had taken some then; and publicly declared, that they would endeavour to get as many of them as the two mentioned ships had carried off of their natives. These unhappy English were in danger of being sacrificed to the memory of their friends, which some of their nation carried off."

*Extracts from a Collection of Voyages.*—Vol. I.

The author, a popish missionary, speaking of his departing from the negro country to Brazil, saith, “I remember the duke of Bambay (a negro chief) one day sent me several blacks to be my slaves; which I would not accept of, but sent them back to him. I afterwards told him I came not into his country to make slaves; but rather to deliver those from the slavery of the devil, whom he kept in miserable thralldom. The ship I went aboard was loaded with elephants teeth and slaves, to the number of six hundred and eighty men, women, and children. It was a pitiful sight to behold how all these people were stowed. The men were standing in the hold, fastened one to another with stakes, for fear they should rise and kill the whites: the women were between the decks, and those that were with child in the great cabin: the children in the steerage, pressed together like herrings in a barrel; which caused an intolerable heat and stench.” Page 507.

“It is now time,” saith the same author, “to speak of a brutish custom these people have amongst them in making slaves; which I take not to be lawful for any person of a good conscience to buy.”—

He then describes how women betray men into slavery, and adds, “There are others going up into the inland-country, and through pretence of jurisdiction, seize men upon any trifling offence, and sell them for slaves.” Page 537.

The author of this treatise, conversing with a person of good credit, was informed by him, that in his youth, while in England, he was minded to come to America, and happening on a vessel bound for Guinea, and from thence into America, he, with a view to see Africa, went on board her, and continued with them in their voyage, and so came into this country.— Among other circumstances, he related these: “They purchased on the coast about three hundred slaves; some of them he understood were captives of war;

some stolen by other negroes privately. When they had got many slaves on board, but were still on that coast, a plot was laid by an old negro, notwithstanding the men had irons on their hands and feet, to kill the English and take the vessel: which being discovered, the man was hanged, and many of the slaves made to shoot at him as he hung up."

"Another slave was charged with having a design to kill the English; and the captain spoke to him in relation to the charge brought against him, as he stood on deck; whereupon he immediately threw himself into the sea, and was drowned."

"Several negroes, confined on board, were, he said, so extremely uneasy with their condition, that after many endeavours used, they could never make them eat nor drink after they came in the vessel; but in a desperate resolution starved themselves to death, behaving toward the last like madmen."

In Randall's Geography, printed 1744, we are informed, that in a time of full peace, nothing is more common than for the negroes of one nation to steal those of another, and sell them to the Europeans.— It is thought that the English transmit annually near fifty thousand of these unhappy creatures; and the other European nations together, about two hundred thousand more.

It is through the goodness of God that the reformation from gross idolatry and barbarity hath been thus far effected. If we consider our condition as christians, and the benefits we enjoy, and compare them with the condition of those people; and consider that our nation trading with them for their country produce, have had an opportunity of imparting useful instructions to them, and remember that but little pains have been taken therein, it must look like an indifference in us. But when we reflect on a custom the most shocking of any amongst them, and remember that, with a view to outward gain, we have joined as parties in it; that our concurrence with them in their barbarous pro-

ceedings, has tended to harden them in cruelty, and been a means of increasing calamities in their country,—we must own that herein we have acted contrary to those worthies whose lives and substance were spent in propagating truth and righteousness amongst the heathen.

When Saul, by the hand of Doeg, slew four score priests at once, he had a jealousy that one of them at least was confederate with David, whom he considered as his enemy. Herod slaying all the male children in Bethlehem of two years old and under, was an act of uncommon cruelty; but he supposed there was a male child there, within that age, who was likely to be king of the Jews; and finding no way to destroy him but by destroying them all, thought this the most effectual means to secure the kingdom to his own family.

When the sentence against the protestants of Marindol, &c. in France, was put in execution, great numbers of people fled to the wilderness; amongst whom were ancient people, women great with child, and others with babes in their arms, who endured calamities grievous to relate; and in the end some perished with hunger, and many were destroyed by fire and sword: but they had this objection against them, That they obstinately persisted in opposition to holy mother church, and being heretics, it was right to work their ruin and extirpation, and raze out their memory from among men. Fox's Acts and Monuments, page 646.

In favour of those cruelties, every one had what they deemed a plea. These scenes of blood and cruelty among the barbarous inhabitants of Guinea, are not less terrible than those now mentioned. They are continued from one age to another, and we make ourselves parties and fellow-helpers in them: nor do I see that we have any plea in our favour more plausible than the plea of Saul, of Herod, or the French, in those slaughters.

Many who are parties in this trade, by keeping slaves with views of self-interest, were they to go as soldiers in one of these inland expeditions to catch slaves, they must necessarily grow dissatisfied with such employ, or cease to profess their religious principles. And though the first and most striking part of the scene is done at a great distance, and by other hands, yet every one who is acquainted with the circumstances, and notwithstanding joins in it for the sake of gain only, must, in the nature of things, be chargeable with the others.

Should we consider ourselves present as spectators, when cruel negroes privately catch innocent children who are employed in the fields; and hear their lamentable cries, under the most terrifying apprehensions;—or should we look upon it as happening in our own families, having our children carried off by savages,—we must needs own, that such proceedings are contrary to the nature of christianity. Should we meditate on the wars which are greatly increased by this trade, and on that affliction which many thousands live in, through apprehensions of being taken or slain;—on the terror and amazement that villages are in, when surrounded by these troops of enterprisers;—on the great pain and misery of groaning, dying men, who get wounded in those skirmishes;—we shall necessarily see that it is impossible to be parties in such a trade, on the motives of gain, and retain our innocence.

Should we consider the case of multitudes of those people, who in a fruitful soil, and hot climate, with a little labour, raise grain, roots and pulse to eat; spin and weave cotton, and fasten together the large feathers of fowls, to cover their nakedness; many of whom, in much simplicity, live inoffensively in their cottages, and take great comfort in raising up children.

Should we contemplate on their circumstances, when suddenly attacked, and labour to understand



their inexpressible anguish of soul who survive the conflict;—should we think on inoffensive women, who fled at the alarm, and at their return saw that village in which they and their acquaintance were raised up, and had pleasantly spent their youthful days, now lying in a gloomy desolation; some shocked at finding the mangled bodies of their near friends amongst the slain; others bemoaning the absence of a brother, a sister, a child, or a whole family of children, who, by cruel men, are bound and carried to market to be sold, without the least hopes of seeing them again:—add to this, the afflicted condition of these poor captives, who are separated from family connexions, and all the comforts arising from friendship and acquaintance;—carried amongst a people of a strange language, to be parted from their fellow-captives,—put to labour in a manner more servile and wearisome than what they were used to, with many sorrowful circumstances attending their slavery;—and we must necessarily see that it belongs not to the followers of Christ to be parties in such a trade, on the motives of outward gain.

Though there were wars and desolation among the negroes, before the Europeans began to trade there for slaves; yet now the calamities are greatly increased; so many thousands being annually brought from thence: and we, by purchasing them, with views of self-interest, are become parties with them, and accessory to that increase.

In this case, we are not joining against an enemy who is fomenting discords on our continent, and using all possible means to make slaves of us and our children; but against a people who have not injured us.

If those who were spoiled and wronged, should at length make slaves of their oppressors, and continue slavery to their posterity, it would look rigorous to candid men. But to act that part toward a people, when neither they nor their fathers have injured us,

hath something in it extraordinary, and requires our serious attention.

Our children breaking a bone;—getting so bruised, that a leg or an arm must be taken off;—lost for a few hours, so that we despair of their being found again;—a friend hurt, so that he dieth in a day or two;—these things move us with grief. And did we attend to these scenes in Africa, in like manner as if they were transacted in our presence;—and sympathize with the negroes, in all their afflictions and miseries, as we do with our children or friends;—we should be more careful to do nothing in any degree helping forward a trade productive of so many, and so great calamities. Great distance makes nothing in our favour.—To willingly join with unrighteousness, to the injury of men who live some thousand miles off, is the same in substance, as joining with it to the injury of our neighbours.

In the eye of pure justice, actions are regarded according to the spirit and disposition they arise from. Some evils are accounted scandalous; and the desire of reputation may keep selfish men from appearing openly in them: but he who is shy on that account, and yet by indirect means promotes that evil and shares in the profit of it, cannot be innocent.

He who, with a view to self-interest, buys a slave, made so by violence, and only on the strength of such purchase holds him a slave, thereby joins hands with those who committed that violence, and in the nature of things becomes chargeable with the guilt.

Suppose a man wants a slave, and being in Guinea, goes and hides by the path where boys pass from one little town to another, and there catches one the day he expects to sail; and taking him on board, brings him home, without any aggravating circumstances. Suppose another buys a man, taken by them who live by plunder and the slave trade: they often steal them privately, and often shed much blood in getting them:—He who buys the slaves thus taken, pays

those men for their wickedness, and makes himself party with them.

Whatever nicety of distinction there may be, betwixt going in person on expeditions to catch slaves, and buying those, with a view to self-interest, which others have taken; it is clear and plain to an upright mind, that such distinction is in words, not in substance; for the parties are concerned in the same work, and have a necessary connection with, and dependence on, each other. For, were there none to purchase slaves, they who live by stealing and selling them, would of consequence do less at it.

Some would buy a negro brought from Guinea, with a view to self-interest, and keep him a slave, who yet would seem to scruple to take arms, and join with men employed in taking slaves.

Others have civil negroes, who were born in our country, capable and likely to manage well for themselves; whom they keep as slaves, without ever trying them with freedom, and take the profit of their labour as a part of their estates; and yet disapprove bringing them from their own country.

If those negroes had come here, as merchants, with their ivory and gold dust, in order to trade with us, and some powerful person had took their effects to himself, and then put them to hard labour, and ever after considered them as slaves, the action would be looked upon as unrighteous.

Those negro merchants having children after their being among us, whose endowments and conduct were like other people's in common;—if, on their attaining to mature age, and requesting to have their liberty, they should be told they were born in slavery, and were lawful slaves, and therefore their request should be denied;—such conduct toward them, would be looked upon as unfair and oppressive.

In the present case, relating to home-born negroes whose understandings and behaviour are as good as common among other people, if we have any claim to them as slaves, that claim is grounded on their be-

ing the children or offspring of slaves, who, in general, were made such through means as unrighteous, and attended with more terrible circumstances than the case last supposed. So that when we trace our claim to the bottom, these home-born negroes having paid for their education, and given reasonable security to those who owned them, in case of their becoming chargeable, we have no more equitable right to their service, than we should if they were the children of honest merchants who came from Guinea in an English vessel to trade with us.

If we claim any right to them as the children of slaves, we build on the foundation laid by them who made slaves of their ancestors; so that of necessity we must either justify the trade, or relinquish our right to them as being the children of slaves.

Why should it seem right to honest men to make advantage by these people, more than by others?—Others enjoy freedom, receive wages equal to their work, at or near such time as they have discharged these equitable obligations they are under to those who educated them. These have made no contract to serve; been no more expensive in raising up than others, and many of them appear as likely to make a right use of freedom as other people: which way then can an honest man withhold from them that liberty, which is the free gift of the Most High to his rational creatures?

The upright in heart cannot succeed the wicked in their wickedness; nor is it consonant to the life they live, to hold fast, an advantage unjustly gained.

The negroes who live by plunder and the slave trade, steal poor innocent children, invade their neighbours' territories, and spill much blood to get these slaves. And can it be possible for an honest man to think that, with a view to self-interest, we may continue slavery to the offspring of these unhappy sufferers, merely because they are the children of slaves, and not have a share of this guilt?

It is granted by many, that the means used in getting them are unrighteous, and that buying them, when brought here, is wrong; yet as setting them free is attended with some difficulty, they do not comply with it; but seem to be of the opinion, that to give them food and raiment, and keep them servants, without any other wages, is the best way to manage them that they know of: and hoping that their children after them will not be cruel to the negroes, conclude to leave them as slaves to their children.

While present outward interest is the chief object of our attention, we shall feel many objections in our minds against renouncing our claim to them, as the children of slaves: for, being prepossessed with wrong opinions, prevents our seeing things clearly, which to indifferent persons, are easy to be seen.

Suppose a person seventy years past, in low circumstances, bought a negro man and woman; and that the children of such person are now wealthy, and have the children of such slaves. Admit that the first negro man and his wife did as much business as their master and mistress, and that the children of the slaves have done some more than their young masters. Suppose, on the whole, that the expense of living has been less on the negro's side, than on the other, (all which are no improbable suppositions) it follows, that in equity these negroes have a right to a part of this increase; that should some difficulties arise on their being set free, there is reason for us patiently to labour through them.

As the conduct of men varies, relating to civil society; so different treatment is justly due to them.—Indiscreet men occasion trouble in the world; and it remains to be the care of such who seek the good of mankind, to admonish as they find occasion.

The slothfulness of some of them, in providing for themselves and families, it is likely, would require the notice of their neighbours; nor is it unlikely that some would, with justice, be made servants, and

others punished for their crimes. Pure justice points out to each individual their due. But to deny a people the privilege of human creatures, on a supposition that, being free, many of them would be troublesome to us, is to mix the condition of good and bad men together, and treat the whole as the worst of them deserve.

If we seriously consider that liberty is the right of innocent men;—that the mighty God is a refuge for the oppressed;—that in reality we are indebted to them;—that they being set free, are still liable to the penalties of our laws, and as likely to have punishment for their crimes as other people: this may answer all our objections. And to retain them in perpetual servitude, without just cause for it, will produce effects, in the event, more grievous than setting them free would do, when a real love to truth and equity was the motive to it.

Our authority over them stands originally in a purchase made from those who, as to the general, obtained theirs by unrighteousness. Whenever we have recourse to such authority, it tends more or less to obstruct the channels through which the perfect plant in us receives nourishment.

There is a principle which is pure, placed in the human mind, which in different places and ages hath had different names: it is, however, pure, and proceeds from God. It is deep, and inward, confined to no forms of religion, nor excluded from any, where the heart stands in perfect sincerity. In whomsoever this takes root and grows, of what nation soever, they become brethren, in the best sense of the expression. Using ourselves to take ways which appear most easy to us, when inconsistent with that purity which is without beginning, we thereby set up a government of our own, and deny obedience to Him whose service is true liberty.

He that hath a servant, made so wrongfully, and knows it to be so, when he treats him otherwise than a free man, when he reaps the benefit of his labour,

without paying him such wages as are reasonably due to free men for the like service, clothes excepted; these things, though done in calmness, without any show of disorder, do yet deprave the mind in like manner, and with as great certainty, as prevailing cold congeals water. These steps taken by masters, and their conduct striking the minds of their children, whilst young, leave less room for that which is good to work upon them. The customs of their parents, their neighbours, and the people with whom they converse, working upon their minds; and they, from thence, conceiving ideas of things, and modes of conduct, the entrance into their hearts becomes, in a great measure, shut up against the gentle movings of uncreated purity.

From one age to another, the gloom grows thicker and darker, till error gets established by general opinion: so that whoever attends to perfect goodness, and remains under the melting influence of it, finds a path unknown to many, and sees the necessity to lean upon the arm of Divine strength, and dwell alone, or with a few, in the right, committing their cause to Him who is a refuge for his people in all their troubles.

Where, through the agreement of a multitude, some channels of justice are stopped, and men may support their characters as just men, by being just to a party, there is great danger of contracting an alliance with that spirit which stands in opposition to the God of love, and spreads discord, trouble, and vexation among such who give up to the influence of it.

Negroes are our fellow-creatures, and their present condition amongst us requires our serious consideration. We know not the time when those scales in which mountains are weighed, may turn. The Parent of mankind is gracious; his care is over his smallest creatures; and a multitude of men escape not his notice. And though many of them are trodden down, and despised, yet he remembers them. He seeth their affliction, and looketh upon the spreading, increasing

exaltation of the oppressor. He turns the channels of power, humbles the most haughty people, and gives deliverance to the oppressed, at such periods as are consistent with his infinite justice and goodness. And wherever gain is preferred to equity, and wrong things publicly encouraged, to that degree that wickedness takes root, and spreads wide amongst the inhabitants of a country, there is real cause for sorrow to all such whose love to mankind stands on a true principle, and who wisely consider the end and event of things.



CONSIDERATIONS  
ON  
PURE WISDOM AND HUMAN POLICY;  
ON LABOUR; ON SCHOOLS;  
AND ON THE RIGHT USE OF  
THE LORD'S OUTWARD GIFTS.

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First printed in the year 1768.

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The wisdom that is from above, is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy, and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy.—*James* iii. 17.

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INTRODUCTION.

My mind hath often been affected with sorrow, on account of the prevailing of that spirit, which leads from an humble waiting on the inward teaching of Christ, to pursue ways of living, attended with unnecessary labour; and which draws forth the minds of many people to seek after outward power, and to strive for riches, which frequently introduce oppression, and bring forth wars and grievous calamities.

It is with reverence that I acknowledge the mercies of our heavenly Father, who, in infinite love, did visit me in my youth, and wrought a belief in me, that through true obedience a state of inward purity may be known in this life; in which we may love mankind in the same love with which our Redeemer loveth us, and therein learn resignation to endure hardships, for the real good of others.

“While the eye is single, the whole body is full of light.” *Mat.* vi. 22. But for want of this, selfish desires, and an imaginary superiority, darken the mind: hence injustice frequently proceeds; and where this is

the case, to convince the judgment, is the most effectual remedy.

Where violent measures are pursued in opposing injustice, the passions and resentments of the injured, frequently operate in the prosecution of their designs: and after conflicts productive of very great calamities, the minds of contending parties often remain as little acquainted with the pure principle of Divine love, as they were before. But where people walk in that pure light in which all their "works are wrought in God;" and under oppression persevere in the meek spirit, and abide firm in the cause of Truth, without actively complying with oppressive demands;—thro' those the Lord hath often manifested his power, in opening the understandings of others, to the promoting of righteousness in the earth.

A time, I believe, is coming, wherein this Divine work will so spread and prevail, that "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, nor learn war any more." Isaiah ii. 4. And as we, through the tender mercies of God, do feel that this precious work is begun, I am concerned to encourage my brethren and sisters in a holy care and diligence, that each of us may so live, under the sanctifying power of Truth, as to be redeemed from all unnecessary cares; that our eye being single to him, no customs, however prevalent, which are contrary to the wisdom from above, may hinder us from faithfully following his holy leadings, in whatsoever he may graciously appoint for us.

## CONSIDERATIONS

ON

### PURE WISDOM AND HUMAN POLICY.

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To have our trust settled in the Lord, and not to seek after, nor desire outward treasures, any further than his holy spirit leads us therein, is a happy state; as saith the prophet, "Blessed is the man that trusteth in the Lord, and whose hope the Lord is."

Pure wisdom leads people into lowliness of mind, in which they learn resignation to the Divine will, and contentment in suffering for his cause, when they cannot keep a clear conscience without suffering.

In this pure wisdom the mind is attentive to the root and original spring of motions and desires; and as we know "the Lord to be our refuge," and find no safety, but in humbly walking before him, we feel an holy engagement, that every desire which leads therefrom may be brought to judgment.

While we proceed in this precious way, and find ardent longings for a full deliverance from every thing which defiles, all prospects of gain that are not consistent with the wisdom from above, are considered as snares; and an inward concern is felt, that we may live under the cross, and faithfully attend to that holy spirit which is sufficient to preserve out of them.

When I have considered that saying of Christ, Mat. vi. 19, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth," the omnipotence of God hath often occurred to my mind.

While we believe that he is every where present with his people, and that perfect goodness, wisdom and power, are united in him, how comfortable is the consideration?

Our wants may be great, but his power is greater. We may be oppressed and despised, but he is able to turn our patient sufferings into profit to ourselves, and to the advancement of his work on earth. His people, who feel the power of his cross, to crucify all that is selfish in them, who are engaged in outward concerns from a conviction that it is their duty, and resign themselves and their treasures to him; these feel that it is dangerous to give way to that in us which craves riches and greatness in this world.

As the heart truly contrite, earnestly desires "to know Christ, and the fellowship of his sufferings," Phil. iii. 10, so far as the Lord for gracious ends may lead into them;—as such feel that it is their interest to put their trust in God, and to seek no gain but that which he, by his holy spirit, leads into; so, on the contrary, they who do not reverently wait for this Divine teacher, and are not humbly concerned, according to their measure, "to fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ," Col. i. 24, in patiently suffering for the promoting of righteousness in the earth; but have an eye toward the power of men and the outward advantage of wealth;—these are often attentive to those employments which appear profitable, even though the gains arise from such trade and business as proceeds from the workings of that spirit, which is estranged from the self-denying life of an humble contrite christian.

While I write on this subject, I feel my mind tenderly affected toward those honestly disposed people, who have been brought up in employments attended with those difficulties.

To such I may say, in the feeling of our heavenly Father's love, and number myself with you, Oh! that our eyes may be single to the Lord! May we reverently wait on him for strength to lay aside all unnecessary expense of every kind, and learn contentment in a plain simple life. May we, in lowliness, submit to the leadings of his spirit, and enter upon any outward employ which he graciously points out

to us; and then, whatever difficulties arise in consequence of our faithfulness, I trust they will work for our good.

Small treasure to a resigned mind is sufficient.—How happy is it to be content with a little,—to live in humility, and feel that in us, which breathes out this language, Abba, Father!

If that, called the wisdom of this world, had no resemblance of true wisdom, the name of wisdom, I suppose, had not been given to it.

As wasting outward substance to gratify vain desires, on one hand; so slothfulness and neglect, on the other, do often involve men and their families in trouble, and reduce them to want and distress: to shun both these opposite vices, is good in itself, and hath a resemblance of wisdom. But while people, thus provident, have it principally in view to get riches, and power, and the friendship of this world, and do not humbly wait for the spirit of Truth to lead them in purity;—these, through an anxious care to obtain the end desired, reach forth for gain in worldly wisdom, and, in regard to their inward state, fall into divers temptations and snares. And though such may think of applying wealth to good purposes, and to use their power to prevent oppression; yet, wealth and power are often applied otherwise, nor can we depart from the leadings of our holy Shepherd, without going into confusion.

Great wealth is frequently attended with power, which nothing but Divine love can qualify the mind to use rightly: and as to the humility and uprightness of our children after us, how great is the uncertainty! If, in acquiring wealth, we take hold on the wisdom which is from beneath, and depart from the leadings of Truth, and example our children herein, we have great cause to apprehend that wealth may be a snare to them; and prove an injury to others over whom their wealth may give them power.

To be redeemed from that wisdom which is from beneath, and walk in the light of the Lord, is a pre-

cious situation. Thus his people are brought to put their trust in him; and in this humble confidence in his wisdom, goodness and power, the righteous find a refuge in adversities, superior to the greatest outward helps, and a comfort more certain than any worldly advantages can afford.

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### ON LABOUR.

Having, from my childhood, been used to bodily labour for a living, I may express my experience therein.

Right exercise affords an innocent pleasure in the time of it, and prepares us to enjoy the sweetness of rest; but from the extremes each way, arise inconveniences.

Moderate exercise opens the pores, gives the blood a lively circulation, and the better enables us to judge rightly respecting that portion of labour which is the true medium.

“The fowls of the air sow not, nor gather into barns, yet our heavenly Father feedeth them.” Mat. vi. 26. Nor do I believe that infinite Goodness and Power would have allotted labour to us, had he not seen that labour was proper for us in this life.

The original design and true medium of labour, is a subject that to me appears worthy of our serious consideration.

Idle men are often a burden to themselves, neglect the duty they owe to their families, and become burdensome to others also.

As outward labour, directed by the wisdom from above, tends to our health, and adds to our happiness in this life; so, on the contrary, entering upon it in a selfish spirit, and pursuing it too long, or too hard, hath a contrary effect.

I have observed that too much labour not only makes the understanding dull, but so intrudes upon the harmony of the body, that after ceasing from our toil, we have another to pass through, before we can be so composed as to enjoy the sweetness of rest.

From too much labour in the heat, frequently proceed immoderate sweats; which do often, I believe, open the way for disorders, and impair our constitutions.

When we go beyond the true medium, and feel weariness approaching, but think business may suffer if we cease; at such a time, spirituous liquors are frequently taken, with a view to support nature under these fatigues.

I have found that too much labour in the summer heats the blood,—that taking strong drink to support the body under such labour, increaseth that heat; and though a person may be so far temperate as not to manifest the least disorder, yet the mind, in such a circumstance, doth not retain that calmness and serenity which we should endeavour to live in.

Thus toiling in the heat, and drinking strong liquor, makes men more resolute and less considerate, and tends very much to disqualify from successfully following Him who is meek and low of heart.

As laying out business more than is consistent with pure wisdom, is an evil; so this evil frequently leads into more. Too much business leads to hurry. In the hurry and toil, too much strong drink is often used; and hereby many proceed to noise and wantonness, and some, though more considerate, do often suffer loss as to a true composedness of mind.

I feel sincere desires in my heart, that no rent nor interest might be laid so high as to be a snare to tenants;—that no desires of gain may draw any too far in business;—that no cares to support customs which have not their foundation in pure wisdom, may have place in our minds; but that we may build on the sure foundation, and feel our holy Shepherd to lead us, who

alone is able to preserve us, and bring forth from every thing which defiles.

Having several times, in my travels, had opportunity to observe the labour and manner of life of great numbers of slaves, it appears to me that the true medium is lamentably neglected by many who assign them their portion of labour.

Without saying much at this time, concerning buying and selling men for term of life, who have as just a right to liberty as we have; nor about the great miseries and effusion of blood, consequent on promoting the slave trade; and to speak as favourably as may be, with regard to continuing those in bondage who are amongst us,—we cannot say there is no partiality in it. For, whatever tenderness may be manifested by individuals in their lifetime toward them, yet for people to be transmitted from a man to his posterity in the helpless condition of slaves, appears inconsistent with the nature of the gospel spirit. From such proceedings it often follows, that persons in the decline of life are deprived of monies equitably due to them, and committed to the care, and subjected to the absolute power of young, unexperienced men, who know but little about the weakness of old age, nor understand the language of declining life.

Where parents give their estates to their children, and then depend on them for a maintenance, they sometimes meet with great inconveniences; but if the power of possession, thus obtained, doth often reverse the obligations of gratitude and filial duty, and makes manifest that youth are often ignorant of the language of old age, how hard is the case of ancient negroes, who, deprived of the wages equitably due to them, are left to young people who have been used to look upon them as their inferiors.

For men to behold the fruits of their labour withheld from them, and possessed by others, and in old age find themselves destitute of those comfortable accommodations, and that tender regard which their time of life requires:



When they feel pains, and stiffness in their joints and limbs, weakness of appetite, and that a little labour is wearisome; and still behold themselves in the neglected, uncomfortable condition of a slave, and oftentimes to a young unsympathizing man:

For men to be thus treated from one generation to another, who, besides their own distresses, think on the slavery entailed on their posterity, and are grieved:—what disagreeable thoughts must they have of the professed followers of Jesus! and how must their groans ascend to that Almighty Being, who “will be a refuge for the oppressed.” Psalm ix. 9.

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## ON SCHOOLS.

“Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of God.” *Mark* x. 14.

To encourage children to do things with a view to get praise of men, to me appears an obstruction to their being inwardly acquainted with the spirit of Truth. For it is the work of the holy Spirit to direct the mind to God, that in all our proceedings we may have a single eye to him;—to give alms in secret, to fast in secret, and labour to keep clear of that disposition reproved by our Saviour; “But all their works they do for to be seen of men.” *Mat.* xxiii. 5.

That Divine light which enlightens all men, I believe, does often shine in the minds of children very early; and to humbly wait for wisdom, that our conduct toward them may tend to forward their acquaintance with it, and strengthen them in obedience thereto, appears to me to be a duty on all of us.

By cherishing the spirit of pride and the love of praise in them, I believe they may sometimes improve faster in learning, than otherwise they would; but to take measures to forward children in learning, which

naturally tend to divert their minds from true humility, appears to me to savour of the wisdom of this world.

If tutors are not acquainted with sanctification of spirit, nor experienced in an humble waiting for the leadings of Truth, but follow the maxims of the wisdom of this world; such children who are under their tuition, appear to me to be in danger of imbibing thoughts and apprehensions, reverse to that meekness and lowliness of heart, which is necessary for all the true followers of Christ.

Children at an age fit for schools, are in a time of life which requires the patient attention of pious people; and if we commit them to the tuition of such, whose minds we believe are not rightly prepared to "train them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord,"—we are in danger of not acting the part of faithful parents toward them; for our heavenly Father doth not require us to do evil, that good may come of it. And it is needful that we deeply examine ourselves, lest we get entangled in the wisdom of this world, and, through wrong apprehensions, take such methods in education as may prove a great injury to the minds of our children.

It is a lovely sight to behold innocent children! and when they are sent to such schools, where their tender minds are in imminent danger of being led astray by tutors who do not live a self-denying life, or by the conversation of such children who do not live in innocence, it is a case much to be lamented.

While a pious tutor hath the charge of no more children than he can take due care of, and keeps his authority in the Truth,—the good spirit in which he leads and governs, works on the minds of such who are not hardened, and his labours not only tend to bring them forward in outward learning, but to open their understandings with respect to the true christian life. But where a person hath charge of too many, and his thoughts and time are so much employed in the outward affairs of his school, that he

does not so weightily attend to the spirit and conduct of each individual, as to be enabled to administer rightly to all in due season;—through such omission, he not only suffers as to the state of his own mind, but the minds of the children are in danger of suffering also.

To watch the spirit of children, to nurture them in gospel love, and labour to help them against that which would mar the beauty of their minds, is a debt we owe them: and a faithful performance of our duty, not only tends to their lasting benefit and our own peace, but also to render their company agreeable to us.

Instruction, thus administered, reaches the pure witness in the minds of such children who are not hardened, and begets love in them toward those who thus lead them on. But where too great a number are committed to a tutor, and he, through much cumber, omits a careful attention to the minds of children,—there is danger of disorders gradually increasing amongst them, till the effects thereof appear in their conduct, too strong to be easily remedied.

A care hath lived on my mind, that more time might be employed by parents at home, and by tutors at school, in weightily attending to the spirit and inclinations of children; and that we may so lead, instruct, and govern them, in this tender part of life, that nothing may be omitted in our power, to help them on their way to become the children of our Father who is in heaven.

Meditating on the situation of schools in our provinces, my mind hath, at times, been affected with sorrow; and under these exercises it hath appeared to me, that if those who have large estates, were faithful stewards, and laid no rent nor interest, nor other demand, higher than is consistent with universal love; and those in lower circumstances would, under a moderate employ, shun unnecessary expense, even to the smallest article; and all unite in humbly seeking to the Lord, he would graciously instruct us,

and strengthen us, to relieve the youth from various snares, in which many of them are entangled.

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### ON THE RIGHT USE OF THE LORD'S OUTWARD GIFTS.

As our understandings are opened by the pure light, we experience that through an inward approaching to God, the mind is strengthened in obedience; and that by gratifying those desires which are not of his begetting, those approaches to him are obstructed, and the deceivable spirit gains strength.

These truths, being as it were engraven upon our hearts, and our everlasting interest in Christ evidently concerned herein, we become fervently engaged, that nothing may be nourished which tends to feed pride or self-love in us. Thus, in pure obedience, we are not only instructed in our duty to God, but also in the affairs which necessarily relate to this life; and the spirit of Truth which guides into all truth, leavens the mind with a pious concern, that "whatsoever we do in word or deed, may be done in his name." Col. iii. 17.

Hence, such buildings, furniture, food and raiment, as best answer our necessities, and are the least likely to feed that selfish spirit which is our enemy, are the most acceptable to us.

In this state the mind is tender, and inwardly watchful, that the love of gain draw us not into any business which may weaken our love to our heavenly Father, or bring unnecessary trouble to any of his creatures.

Thus the way gradually opens to cease from that spirit which craves riches and things fetched far;—which so mixeth with the customs of this world, and

so intrudes upon the true harmony of life, that the right medium of labour is very much departed from.

And as the minds of people are settled in a steady concern, not to hold nor possess any thing but what may be held consistent with the wisdom from above, they consider what they possess as the gift of God, and are inwardly exercised that in all parts of their conduct they may act agreeable to the nature of the peaceable government of Christ.

A little supports such a life; and in a state truly resigned to the Lord, the eye is single to see what outward employ he leads into as a means of our subsistence, and a lively care is maintained to hold to that without launching further.

There is a harmony in the several parts of this Divine work in the hearts of people. He who leads them to cease from those gainful employments, carried on in that wisdom which is from beneath, delivers also from the desire after worldly greatness, and reconciles the mind to a life so plain, that a little doth suffice.

Here the real comforts of life are not lessened.—Moderate exercise, in the way of true wisdom, is pleasant both to mind and body. Food and raiment sufficient, though in the greatest simplicity, are accepted with content and gratitude.

The mutual love subsisting between the faithful followers of Christ, is more pure than that friendship which is not seasoned with humility, how specious soever the appearance.

Where people depart from pure wisdom in one case, it is often an introduction to depart from it in many more: and thus a spirit which seeks for outward greatness, and leads into worldly wisdom to attain it and support it, gets possession of the mind.

In beholding the customary departure from the true medium of labour, and that unnecessary toil which many go through, in supporting outward greatness, and procuring delicacies:

In beholding how the true calmness of life is changed into hurry, and that many, by eagerly pursuing outward treasure, are in great danger of withering as to the inward state of the mind:

In meditating on the works of this spirit, and on the desolations it makes amongst the professors of christianity, I may thankfully acknowledge that I often feel pure love beget longings in my heart for the exaltation of the peaceable kingdom of Christ, and an engagement to labour according to the gift bestowed on me, for the promoting an humble, plain, temperate way of living: a life where no unnecessary cares nor expenses may encumber our minds, nor lessen our ability to do good;—where no desires after riches or greatness may lead into hard dealing;—where no connexions with worldly minded men may abate our love to God, nor weaken a true zeal for righteousness;—a life, wherein we may diligently labour for resignedness to do, and suffer whatever our heavenly Father may allot for us, in reconciling the world to himself.

When the prophet Isaiah had uttered his vision, and declared that a time was coming wherein “swords should be beat into ploughshares, and spears into pruning hooks, and that nation should not lift up sword against nation, nor learn war any more;” he immediately directs the minds of the people to the Divine teacher, in this remarkable language; “O house of Jacob, come ye and let us walk in the light of the Lord.” Isaiah ii. 5.

To wait for the direction of this light in all temporal as well as spiritual concerns, appears necessary: for if in any case we enter lightly into temporal affairs, without feeling this spirit of Truth to open our way therein, and through the love of this world proceed on, and seek for gain by that business or traffic, which “is not of the Father, but of the world,” we fail in our testimony to the purity and peace of his government; and get into that which is for chastisement.

This matter hath lain heavy on my mind. It being evident, that a life less humble, less simple and plain, than that which Christ leads his sheep into, does necessarily require a support which pure wisdom does not provide for. Hence there is no probability of our being "a peculiar people, so zealous of good works as to have no fellowship with works of darkness," while we have wants to supply which have their foundation in custom, and do not come within the meaning of those expressions; "your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things."—Mat. vi. 32.

These things which he beholds necessary for his people, he fails not to give them in his own way, and time. But as his ways are above our ways, and his thoughts above our thoughts, so imaginary wants are different "from these things which he knoweth that we have need of."

As my meditations have been on these things, compassion hath filled my heart toward my fellow creatures, involved in customs, grown up in "the wisdom of this world, which is foolishness with God." And Oh! that the youth may be so thoroughly experienced in an humble walking before the Lord, that they may be his children, and know him to be their refuge, their safe unfailing refuge, through the various dangers attending this uncertain state of being.

If those whose minds are redeemed from the love of wealth, and who are content with a plain, simple way of living, do yet find that to conduct the affairs of a family, without giving countenance to unrighteous proceedings, or having fellowship with works of darkness, the most diligent care is necessary:

If customs, distinguishable from universal righteousness, and opposite to the true self-denying life, are now prevalent, and so mixed with trade, and with almost every employ, that it is only through humble waiting on the inward guidance of Truth that we may reasonably hope to walk safely, and support

an uniform testimony to the peaceable government of Christ:

If this be the case, how lamentably do they expose themselves to temptations, who give way to the love of riches, conform to expensive living, and reach forth for gain to support customs which our holy Shepherd leads not into!



CONSIDERATIONS  
ON THE  
TRUE HARMONY OF MANKIND;

*And how it is to be maintained.*

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First printed in the year 1770.

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And the remnant of Jacob shall be in the midst of many people, as a dew from the Lord, as the showers upon the grass, that tarrieth not for man, nor waiteth for the sons of men.—*Micah* v. 7.

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INTRODUCTION.

As mankind from one parent are divided into many families; and as trading to sea is greatly increased within a few ages past;—amidst this extended commerce, how necessary is it that the professed followers of Christ keep sacred his holy name, and be employed about trade and traffic no further than justice and equity evidently accompanies: that we may give no just cause of offence to any, however distant, or unable to plead their own cause; and may continually keep in view, the spreading of the true and saving knowledge of God, and his son Jesus Christ, amongst our fellow-creatures; which through his infinite love, some feel to be more precious than any other treasure.

## CONSIDERATIONS, &c.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### *On serving the Lord in our outward employments.*

Under the humbling dispensations of the Father of mercies, I have felt an inward labour for the good of my fellow-creatures; and a concern that the holy Spirit, which alone can restore mankind to a state of true harmony, may with singleness of heart be waited for and followed.

I trust there are many under that visitation, which if faithfully attended to, will make them quick of understanding in the fear of the Lord, and qualify with firmness to be true patterns of the christian life; who in living and walking may hold forth an invitation to others, to come out of the entanglements of the spirit of this world.

And that which I feel first to express is, a care for those who are in circumstances, which appear difficult with respect to supporting their families in a way answerable to pure wisdom,—that they may not be discouraged; but remember that in humbly obeying the leading of Christ, he owneth us as his friends. “Ye are my friends if ye do whatsoever I command you.” And to be a friend to Christ, is to be united to him who hath all power in heaven and in earth.—And though a woman may forget her sucking child, yet will he not forget his faithful ones.

The condition of many who dwell in cities, hath often affected me with a brotherly sympathy, attended with a desire that resignation may be laboured for: and where the holy Leader directeth to a country life, or some change of employ, he may be faithfully followed. For, under the refining hand of the Lord, I

have seen that the inhabitants of some cities are greatly increased, through some branches of business which his holy Spirit doth not lead into; and that being entangled in these things, tends to bring a cloud over the minds of people convinced of the leadings of this holy Leader, and obstructs the coming of the kingdom of God on earth as it is in heaven.

Now if we indulge a desire to imitate our neighbours in those things which harmonize not with the true christian walking, these entanglements may hold fast to us; and some, who in an awakening time, feel tender scruples with respect to their manner of life, may look on the example of others more noted in the church, (who yet may not be refined from every degree of dross) and by looking on these examples, and desiring to support their families in a way pleasant to the natural mind, there may be danger of the worldly wisdom gaining strength in them, and of their departure from that pure feeling of Truth, which if faithfully attended to, would teach contentment in the Divine will, even in a very low estate.

One formerly, speaking on the profitableness of true humility, saith, "He that troubles not himself with anxious thoughts for more than is necessary, lives little less than the life of angels; whilst by a mind content with little, he imitates their want of nothing." Cave's Primitive Christianity, page 31.

"It is not enough, says Tertullian, that a christian be chaste and modest; but he must appear to be so: a virtue of which he should have so great a store, that it should flow from his mind upon his habit, and break from the retirements of his conscience, into the superficies of his life." Same book, page 43.

"The garments we wear, says Clemens, ought to be mean and frugal. That is true simplicity of habit, which takes away what is vain and superfluous; that the best and most solid garment, which is the furthest from curiosity." Page 49.

Though the change from day to night, is by a motion so gradual as scarcely to be perceived; yet when

night is come we behold it very different from the day. And thus, as people become wise in their own eyes, and prudent in their own sight, customs rise up from the spirit of this world, and spread by little and little; till a departure from the simplicity that there is in Christ, becomes as distinguishable as light from darkness, to such who are crucified to the world.

Our holy Shepherd, to encourage his flock in firmness and perseverance, reminds them of his love for them. "As the Father hath loved me, so have I loved you; continue ye in my love." And in another place he graciously points out the danger of departing therefrom by going into unsuitable employments: this he represents in the similitude of offence from that useful, active member, the hand; and to fix the instruction the deeper, names the right hand: "If thy right hand offend thee, cut it off and cast it from thee"—If thou feelest offence in thy employment, humbly follow him who leads into all truth, and is a strong and faithful friend to those who are resigned to him.

Again, he points out those things, which appearing pleasant to the natural mind, are not best for us, in the similitude of offence from the eye: "If thy right eye offend thee pluck it out, and cast it from thee." To pluck out the eye, or cut off the hand, is attended with sharp pain: and how precious is the instruction which our Redeemer thus opens to us, that we may not faint under the most painful trials; but put our trust in Him, even in him who sent an angel to feed Elijah in the wilderness; who fed a multitude with a few barley loaves; and is now as attentive to the wants of his people as ever.

The prophet Isaiah represents the unrighteous doings of the Israelites toward the poor, as the fruits of an effeminate life: "As for my people, children are their oppressors, and women rule over them. What mean ye that ye beat my people to pieces, and grind the faces of the poor, saith the Lord God." Then he mentions the haughtiness of the daughters of Sion, and enumerates many ornaments, as instances of their

vanity; to uphold which the poor were so hardly dealt with, that he sets forth their poverty, their leanness and inability to help themselves, in the similitude of a man maimed by violence, or "beaten to pieces," and forced to endure the painful operation of having his face gradually worn away in the manner of grinding.

And I may here add, that at times when I have felt true love open my heart towards my fellow-creatures, and been engaged in weighty conversation in the cause of righteousness, the instructions I have received under these exercises, in regard to the true use of the outward gifts of God, have made deep and lasting impressions on my mind.

I have here beheld how the desire to provide wealth to uphold a delicate life, hath grievously entangled many, and been like snares to their offspring. And though some have been affected with a sense of their difficulties, and appeared desirous, at times, to be helped out of them; yet for want of abiding under the humbling power of Truth, they have continued in these entanglements. For in remaining conformable to this world, and giving way to a delicate life, this expensive way of living in parents and in children, hath called for a large supply; and in answering this call, "the faces of the poor" have been ground away, and made thin through hard dealing.

There is balm, there is a physician! and Oh! what longings do I feel, that we may embrace the means appointed for our healing, know that removed which now ministers cause for the cries of many people to ascend to heaven against their oppressors, and that we may see the true harmony restored.

"Behold how good and how pleasant it is, for brethren to dwell together in unity." The nature of this unity is thus opened by the apostle; "If we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his son cleanseth us from all sin." John i. 7.

The land may be polluted with innocent blood, which, like the blood of Abel, may cry to the Almighty; but those who "walk in the light as he is in the light," they know the "lamb of God, who taketh away sin."

Walking is a phrase frequently used in scripture, to represent our journey through life, and appears to comprehend the various affairs and transactions properly relating to our being in this world.

Christ being the light, dwells always in the light; and if our walking be thus, and in every affair and concern we faithfully follow this divine Leader; he preserves from giving just cause for any to quarrel with us. And where this foundation is laid, and mutually kept to by families conversant with each other, the way is open for those comforts in society, which our heavenly Father intends as a part of our happiness in this world; and then we may experience the goodness and pleasantness of dwelling together in unity. But where ways of living take place which tend to oppression; (and in the pursuit of wealth, people do that to others which they know would not be acceptable to themselves, either in exercising an absolute power over them, or otherwise laying on them unequitable burdens.—Here, a fear lest that measure should be meted to them which they have measured to others, incites a care to support that by craft and cunning devices which stands not on the firm foundation of righteousness. Thus the harmony of society is broken; and from hence commotions and wars do frequently arise in the world.

"Come out of Babylon my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues." Rev. xviii. 4. This Babel or Babylon, was built in the spirit of self-exaltation: "Let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach to heaven, and let us make us a name." Gen. xi. 4. In departing from an humble trust in God, and following a selfish spirit, people have intention to get the upper-

hand of their fellow-creatures, privately meditate on means to obtain their ends, and have a language in their hearts which is hard to understand. In Babel the language is confounded.

This city is represented as a place of business, and those employed in it, as merchants of the earth.—“The merchants of the earth are waxed rich through the abundance of her delicacies.” Rev. xviii. 3.

And it is remarkable in this call, that the language from the Father of mercies is, *my people*; “Come out of Babylon, my people!” Thus his tender mercies are toward us in an imperfect state; and as we faithfully attend to the call, the path of righteousness is more and more opened; cravings, which have not their foundation in pure wisdom, more and more cease; and in an inward purity of heart, we experience a restoration of that which was lost at Babel, represented by the inspired prophet in the “returning of a pure language.” Zeph. iii. 9.

Happy for them who humbly attend to the call, “Come out of Babylon, my people.” For though in going forth we may meet with trials, which for a time may be painful; yet as we bow in true humility, and continue in it, an evidence is felt that God only is wise; and that in weaning us from all that is selfish, he prepares the way to a quiet habitation, where all our desires are bounded by his wisdom. And an exercise of spirit attends me, that we who are convinced of the pure leadings of Truth, may bow in the deepest reverence, and so watchfully regard this Leader, that many who are grievously entangled in a wilderness of vain customs, may look upon us, and be instructed. And Oh! that such who have plenty of this world’s goods, may be faithful in that with which they are entrusted, and example others in the true christian walking!

Our blessed Lord, speaking on worldly greatness, compares himself to one waiting and attending on a company at dinner: “Whether is greater, he that sitteth at meat or he that seryeth? Is not he that sit-

teth at meat? but I am amongst you as he that serveth." Luke xxii. 27.

Thus in a world greatly disordered, where men, aspiring to outward greatness, were wont to oppress others to support their designs, he who was of the highest descent, being the Son of God, and greater than any amongst the greatest families of men, by his example and doctrines foreclosed his followers from claiming any show of outward greatness, from any supposed superiority in themselves, or derived from their ancestors.

He who was greater than earthly princes, was not only meek and low of heart, but his outward appearance was plain and lowly, and free from every stain of the spirit of this world.

Such was the example of the blessed Redeemer; of whom the beloved disciple said, "He that saith he abideth in him, ought also to walk even as he walked." *omit the followers*

John Bradford, who suffered martyrdom under Queen Mary, wrote a letter to his friends out of prison, a short time before he was burnt, in which are these expressions; "Consider your dignity as children of God and temples of the Holy Ghost, and members of Christ; be ashamed therefore to think, speak, or do any thing unseemly for God's children, and the members of Christ." Fox's Acts and Monuments, page 1177.

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## CHAPTER II.

### *On the Example of Christ.*

As my mind hath been brought into a brotherly feeling with the poor, as to the things of this life, who are under trials in regard to getting a living in a way answerable to the purity of truth; a labour of



heart hath attended me, that their way may not be made difficult through the love of money in those who are tried with plentiful estates, but that they with tenderness of heart may sympathize with them.

It was the saying of the blessed Redeemer, "Ye cannot serve God and mammon." There is a deep feeling of the way of purity, a way in which the wisdom of the world hath no part, but is opened by the spirit of Truth, and is called "the way of holiness;"—a way in which the traveller is employed in watching unto prayer. And the outward gain we get in this journey is considered as a trust committed to us, by HIM who formed and supports the world; and is the rightful director of the use and application of the products of it.

Now except the mind be preserved chaste, there is no safety for us: but in an estrangement from true resignation, the spirit of the world casts up a way, in which gain is many times principally attended to, and in which there is a selfish application of outward treasures.

How agreeable to the true harmony of society, is that exhortation of the apostle! "Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others. Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus."

A person in outward prosperity may have the power of obtaining riches; but the same mind being in him which is in Christ Jesus, he may feel a tenderness of heart towards those of low degree; and instead of setting himself above them, may look upon it as an unmerited favour, that his way through life is more easy than the way of many others;—may improve every opportunity of leading forth out of those customs which have entangled the family;—employ his time in looking into the wants of the poor members, and hold forth such a perfect example of humility, that the pure witness may be reached in many minds, and the way opened for a harmonious walking together.

Jesus Christ, in promoting the happiness of others, was not deficient in looking for the helpless, who lay in obscurity; nor did he save any thing to render himself honourable amongst men, which might have been of more use to the weak members in his Father's family: of whose compassion towards us I may now speak a little. He who was perfectly happy in himself, moved with infinite love, "took not upon him the nature of angels," but our imperfect natures; and therein wrestled with the temptations which attend us in this life: and being the Son of HIM who is greater than earthly princes, yet became a companion to poor, sincere-hearted men. And though he gave the clearest evidence that Divine power attended him, yet the most unfavourable constructions were framed by a self-righteous people; those miracles represented as the effect of a diabolical power, and endeavours used to render him hateful, as having his mission from the prince of darkness: nor did their envy cease, till they took him like a criminal and brought him to trial. Though some may affect to carry the appearance of being unmoved at the apprehension of distress, the dear Redeemer, who was perfectly sincere, having the same human nature which we have, and feeling, a little before he was apprehended the weight of that work upon him, for which he came into the world, was "sorrowful even unto death." Here the human nature struggled to be excused from a cup so bitter; but his prayers centred in resignation, "Not my will but thine be done." In this conflict, so great was his agony that "sweat like drops of blood fell from him to the ground."

Behold now as foretold by the prophet, he is in a judicial manner "numbered with the transgressors." Behold him as some poor man of no reputation, standing before the high priest and elders, and before Herod and Pilate, where witnesses appear against him; and he, mindful of the most gracious design of his coming, declineth to plead in his own defence; "but as a sheep that is dumb before his shearer," so

under many accusations, revilings, and buffetings, he remained silent. And though he signified to Peter that he had access to power sufficient to overthrow all their outward forces; yet retaining a resignation to suffer for the sins of mankind, he exerted not that power, but permitted them to go on in their malicious designs, and pronounce him to be worthy of death; even him who was perfect in goodness. Thus, "in his humiliation his judgment was taken away," and he, like some vile criminal, "led as a lamb to the slaughter." Under these heavy trials (though poor unstable Pilate was convinced of his innocence,) yet the people generally looked upon him as a deceiver, a blasphemer, and the approaching punishment as a just judgment upon him. "They esteemed him smitten of God and afflicted." So great had been the surprise of his disciples, at his being taken by armed men, that they "forsook him and fled." Thus they hid their faces from him; he was despised, and by their conduct it appeared as though "they esteemed him not."

But contrary to that opinion of his being smitten of God and afflicted, it was for our sakes that "he was put to grief; he was wounded for our transgressions; he was bruised for our iniquities;" and under the weight of them manifesting the deepest compassion for the instruments of his misery, laboured as their advocate; and in the deeps of affliction, with an unconquerable patience, cried out, "Father forgive them, they know not what they do."

Now this mind being in us, which was in Christ Jesus, it removes from our hearts the desire of superiority, worldly honours or greatness. A deep attention is felt to the Divine counsellor, and an ardent engagement to promote, as far as we may be enabled, the happiness of mankind universally. This state, where every motion from a selfish spirit yieldeth to pure love, I may, with gratitude to the Father of mercies, acknowledge, is often opened before me as a pearl to dig after;—attended with a living con-

cern, that amongst the many nations and families on the earth, those who believe in the Messiah, that "he was manifested to destroy the works of the devil," and thus to "take away the sins of the world," may experience the will of our heavenly Father "to be done on earth as it is in heaven." Strong are the desires I often feel, that this holy profession may remain unpolluted; and the believers in Christ may so abide in the pure inward feeling of his spirit, that the wisdom from above may shine forth in their living, as a light by which others may be instrumentally helped on their way, in the true harmonious walking.



### CHAPTER III.

#### *On Merchandizing.*

Where the treasures of pure love are opened, and we obediently follow Him who is the light of life, the mind becomes chaste; and a care is felt, that the unction from the Holy One may be our leader in every undertaking.

In being crucified to the world, broken off from that friendship which is enmity with God, and dead to the customs and fashions which have not their foundation in the Truth;—the way is prepared to lowliness in outward living, and to a disentanglement from those snares which attend the love of money. And where the faithful friends of Christ are so situated that merchandize appears to be their duty, they feel a restraint from going further therein, than he owns their proceeding; being convinced that they are not their own, but are bought with a price; and therefore ought to glorify God in their body, and in their spirit, which are God's. Cor. vi. 20. Thus they are taught, not only to keep to a moderate advance

and uprightness in their dealings; but to consider the tendency of their proceedings,—to do nothing which they know would operate against the cause of universal righteousness;—and to keep continually in view the spreading of the peaceable kingdom of Christ amongst mankind.

The prophet Isaiah spake of the gathered church in the similitude of a city, where many being employed were all preserved in purity. “They shall call them the holy people, the redeemed of the Lord; and thou shalt be called Sought out, a city not forsaken.” lxii. 12. And the apostle, after mentioning the mystery of Christ’s sufferings, exhorts, “Be ye holy in all manner of conversation.” 1 Pet. i. 15. There is a conversation necessary in trade; and there is a conversation so foreign from the nature of Christ’s kingdom, that it is represented in the similitude of one man pushing another with a warlike weapon: “There is that speaketh like the piercings of a sword.” Prov. xii. 18. Now in all our concerns, it is necessary that the leading of the spirit of Christ be humbly waited for and faithfully followed, as the only means of our being preserved chaste, as an holy people, who “in all things are circumspect.” So that nothing we do may carry the appearance of approbation of the works of wickedness, make the unrighteous more at ease in unrighteousness, or occasion the injuries committed against the oppressed to be more lightly looked over.

Where morality is kept to, and supported by the inhabitants of a country, there is a certain reproach attends those individuals amongst them, who manifestly deviate therefrom. Thus, if a person of good report, is charged with stealing goods out of an open shop in the day time, and on a public trial is found guilty, and the law in that case put in execution,—he therein sustains a loss of reputation: but if he be convicted a second and third time of the like offence, his good name would cease amongst such who knew these things. If his neighbour, reputed an honest

man, being charged with buying goods of this thief, at a time when the purchaser knew they were stolen; and on a public trial is found guilty, this purchaser would meet with disesteem: but if he persisted in buying stolen goods, knowing them to be such, and was publicly convicted thereof a second and third time, he would no longer be considered as an honest man by them who knew these things; nor would it appear of good report to be found in his company, buying his traffic, till some evident tokens of sincere repentance appeared in him. But where iniquity is committed openly, and the authors of it are not brought to justice, nor put to shame, their hands grow strong. Thus, the general corruption of the Jews shortly before their state was broke up by the Chaldeans, is described by their boldness in impiety; for as their leaders were connected together in wickedness, they strengthened one another, and grew confident. "Were they ashamed when they had committed abominations? nay, they were not at all ashamed, neither could they blush." Jer. vi. 15. On which account the Lord thus expostulates with them; "What hath my beloved to do in my house, seeing she hath wrought lewdness with many, and the holy flesh is passed from thee? When thou doest evil, then thou rejoicest." Jer. xi. 15.

Now the faithful friends of Christ, who hunger and thirst after righteousness, and inwardly breathe that the kingdom of God may come on earth as it is in heaven,—he teacheth them to be quick of understanding in his fear, and to be very attentive to the means he may appoint for promoting pure righteousness in the earth. And as shame is due to those whose works manifestly operate against the gracious design of the sufferings of Christ for us, a care lives on their minds that no wrong customs, however supported, may bias their judgments; but that they may humbly abide under the cross, and be preserved in a conduct which may not contribute to strengthen the

hands of the wicked in their wickedness, or to remove shame from those to whom it is justly due.

The coming of that day is precious, in which we experience the truth of this expression; "The Lord our righteousness;" and feel him to be "made unto us wisdom and sanctification."

The example of a righteous man is often looked at with attention. Where righteous men join in business, their company gives encouragement to others. And as one grain of incense deliberately offered to the prince of this world, renders an offering to God in that state unacceptable; and from those esteemed leaders of the people may be injurious to the weak; it requires deep humility of heart to follow Him faithfully, who alone gives sound wisdom and the spirit of true discerning: and Oh! how necessary it is to consider the weight of a holy profession!

The conduct of some formerly, gave occasion of complaint against them,—“Thou hast defiled thy sanctuaries by the multitude of thine iniquities; by the iniquity of thy traffic.” Ezek. xxviii. 18. And in several places it is charged against Israel, that they had polluted the holy name.

The prophet Isaiah represents inward sanctification in the similitude of being purged from that which is fuel for fire; and particularly describes the outward fruits, brought forth by those who dwell in this inward holiness. “They walk righteously, and speak uprightly.” By walking he represents the journey through life, as a righteous journey; and “by speaking uprightly,” seems to point at that which Moses appears to have had in view, when he thus expressed himself: “Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil; nor speak in a cause to decline after many to wrest judgment.” Exod. xxiii. 2.

He goes on to show their firmness in equity; representing them as persons superior to all the arts of getting money, which have not righteousness for their foundation: “They despise the gain of oppres-

sions." And further shows how careful they are that no prospects of gain may induce them to become partial in judgment respecting an injury: "They shake their hands from holding bribes."

Again, where any interest is so connected with shedding blood, that the cry of innocent blood goes along with it, he points out their care to keep innocent blood from crying against them, in the similitude of a man stopping his ears to prevent a sound from entering into his head. "They stop their ears from hearing of blood." And where they know that wickedness is committed, he points out their care, that they do not by an unguarded friendship with the authors of it, appear like unconcerned lookers on, but as people so deeply affected with sorrow, that they cannot endure to stand by and behold it. This he represents in the similitude of a man "shutting his eyes from seeing evil."

"Who amongst us shall dwell with the devouring fire? Who amongst us shall dwell with everlasting burnings? He that walketh righteously and speaketh uprightly. He that despiseth the gain of oppressions, that shaketh his hands from holding of bribes, that stoppeth his ears from hearing of blood, and shutteth his eyes from seeing evil." Isaiah xxxiii. 14, 15.

He proceeds, in the spirit of prophecy, to show how the faithful, being supported under temptations, would be preserved from that defilement there is in the love of money; that as they who in a reverent waiting on God, feel their strength renewed, are said to "mount upward;" so here their preservation from the snares of unrighteous gain, is represented in the likeness of a man, borne up above all crafty, artful means of getting the advantage of another. "They shall dwell on high:" and he thus points out the stability and firmness of their condition: "His place of defence shall be the munitions of rocks." And that, under all the outward appearances of loss, in denying himself of gainful profits for righteousness' sake; yet



through the care of him who provides for the sparrows, he should have a supply answerable to infinite wisdom. "Bread shall be given him, his waters shall be sure." And as our Saviour mentions the sight of God to be attainable by "the pure in heart;" so here the prophet pointed out, how in true sanctification the understanding is opened, to behold the peaceable, harmonious nature of his kingdom; "thine eyes shall see the king in his beauty." And that looking beyond all the afflictions which attend the righteous, to "a habitation eternal in the heavens," they, with an eye divinely open, "shall behold the land that is very far off."

"He shall dwell on high: his place of defence shall be the munitions of rocks: bread shall be given him; his waters shall be sure. Thine eyes shall see the king in his beauty: they shall behold the land that is very far off." Isaiah xxxiii. 16, 17.

I often remember, and to me the subject is awful, that the great Judge of all the earth doeth that which is right; and that he "before whom the nations are as the drop of a bucket," is "no respecter of persons." Happy for them, who, like the inspired prophet, "in the way of his judgments wait for him." Isaiah xxvi. 8.

When we feel him to sit as a refiner with fire, and know a resignedness wrought in us to that which he appoints for us; his blessing in a very low estate, is found to be more precious than much outward treasure in those ways of life, where the leadings of his spirit are not followed.

The prophet, in a sight of Divine work amongst many people, declared in the name of the Lord; "I will gather all nations and tongues, and they shall come and see my glory." Isaiah lxvi. 18. And again, "From the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, my name shall be great amongst the Gentiles; and in every place incense shall be offered to my name, and a pure offering." Malachi i. 11.

Behold here how the prophets had an inward sense of the spreading of the kingdom of Christ; and how he was spoken of as one who should "take the heathen for his inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for his possession." Psal. ii. 8. That "he was given for a light to the Gentiles; and for salvation to the ends of the earth." Isaiah xlix. 6.

When we meditate on this Divine work, as a work of ages;—a work that the prophets felt long before Jesus Christ appeared visibly on earth; and remember the bitter agonies he endured when he "poured out his soul unto death," that the heathen nations, as well as others, might come to the knowledge of the Truth and be saved:

When we contemplate on this marvellous work, as that which "the angels desire to look into;" 1 Pet. i. 12, and behold people amongst whom this light hath eminently broken forth, and who have received many favours from the bountiful hand of our heavenly Father;—not only indifferent with respect to publishing the glad tidings amongst the Gentiles, as yet sitting in darkness and entangled with many superstitions;—but who, aspiring after wealth and worldly honours, take hold of means to obtain their ends, tending to stir up wrath and indignation, and to beget an abhorrence in them to the name of christianity:—When these things are weightily attended to, how mournful is the subject?

It is worthy of remembrance, that people in different ages, deeply baptized into the nature of that work for which Christ suffered, have joyfully offered up their liberty and lives for the promoting of it in the earth.

Policarp, who was reputed a disciple of John, having attained to great age, was at length sentenced to die for his religion, and being brought to the fire, prayed nearly as follows: "Thou God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom I have received the knowledge of thee! O God of the angels and powers, and of every living creature, and of all sorts of just

men which live in thy presence,—I thank thee, that thou hast graciously vouchsafed this day and this hour to allot me a portion among the number of martyrs, among the people of Christ, unto the resurrection of everlasting life; among whom I shall be received in thy sight, this day, as a fruitful and acceptable sacrifice. Wherefore for all this, I praise thee, I bless thee, I glorify thee through the everlasting High Priest, Jesus Christ, thy well beloved son; to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all glory, world without end. Amen.”

Bishop Latimer, when sentence of death by fire was pronounced against him, on account of his firmness in the cause of religion, said, “I thank God most heartily! that he hath prolonged my life to this end; that I may in this case glorify him by this kind of death.” Fox’s Acts and Monuments, 936.

William Dewsbery, who had suffered much for his religion, in his last sickness, encouraging his friends to faithfulness, made mention, like good old Jacob, of the loving kindness of God to him in the course of his life, and that through the power of Divine love, he for Christ’s sake had joyfully entered prisons. See introduction to his works.

I mention these, as a few examples out of many, of the powerful operation of the spirit of Christ, where people are fully devoted to it; and of the ardent longings in their minds for the spreading of his kingdom amongst mankind.

Now to those, in the present age, who truly know Christ, and feel the nature of his peaceable government opened in their understandings, how loud is that call wherewith we are called to faithfulness; that in following this pure light of life, “*we as workers together with him,*” may labour in that great work for which he was offered as a sacrifice on the cross; and that his peaceable doctrines may shine through us in their real harmony, at a time when the name of christianity is become hateful to many of the heathen.

When Gehazi had obtained treasures, which the prophet under Divine direction had refused, and was returned from the business; the prophet, troubled at his conduct, queried if it was a time thus to prepare for a specious living. "Is it a time to receive money and garments, men servants and maid servants? The leprosy therefore of Naaman shall cleave to thee and thy seed forever." And Oh! that we may lay to heart the condition of the present time! and humbly follow His counsel, who alone is able to prepare the way for a true harmonious walking amongst mankind.

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CHAPTER IV.

*On Divine Admonitions.*

Such are the perfections of our heavenly Father, that in all the dispensations of his providence, it is our duty "*in every thing to give thanks.*" Though from the first settlement of this part of America, he hath not extended his judgments to the degree of famine; yet worms at times have come forth beyond numbering, and laid waste fields of grain and grass, where they have appeared. Another kind, in great multitudes, working out of sight, in grass ground, have so eat the roots that the surface being loosened from the soil beneath, might be taken off in great sheets.

These kinds of devouring creatures appearing seldom, and coming in such multitudes, their generation appears different from most other reptiles; and by the prophet were called, "God's army sent among the people."

There have been tempests of hail, which have very much destroyed the grain where they extended.—Through long drought in summer, grain in some places hath been less than half the usual quantity.\*

\* When crops fail, I often feel a tender care that the case of poor tenants may be mercifully considered.

And in the continuance thereof, I have beheld with attention, from week to week, how dryness from the top of the earth, hath extended deeper and deeper, while the corn and plants have languished: and with reverence my mind hath been turned toward HIM, who being perfect in goodness, in wisdom and in power, doeth all things right. And after long drought, when the sky hath grown dark with a collection of matter, and clouds like lakes of water hung over our heads, from whence the thirsty land hath been soaked; I have, at times, with awfulness, beheld the vehement operation of lightning, made sometimes to accompany these blessings, as a messenger from HIM who created all things, to remind us of our duty in a right use of those benefits, and give striking admonitions, that we do not misapply those gifts, in which an Almighty power is exerted in bestowing them upon us.

When I have considered that many of our fellow-creatures suffer much in some places for want of the necessaries of life, whilst those who rule over them are too much given to luxury, and divers vanities; and behold the apparent deviation from pure wisdom amongst us, in the use of the outward gifts of God; those marks of famine have appeared like humbling admonitions from him, that we might be instructed by gentle chastisements, and might seriously consider our ways; remembering that the outward supply of life is a gift from our heavenly Father, and that we should no more venture to use, or apply his gifts, in a way contrary to pure wisdom.

Should we continue to reject those merciful admonitions, and use his gifts at home, contrary to the gracious design of the Giver; or send them abroad in a way of trade, which the spirit of Truth doth not lead into: and should He whose eyes are upon all our ways, extend his chastisements so far as to reduce us to much greater distress than hath yet been felt by these provinces; with what sorrow of heart might we meditate on that subject. "Hast thou not procured this unto thyself, in that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God,

when he led thee by the way? Thine own wickedness shall correct thee, and thy backslidings shall reprove thee: know therefore and see, that it is an evil thing and bitter, that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God, and that my fear is not in thee, saith the Lord God of hosts." Jer. ii. 17, 19.

My mind hath often been affected with sorrow, in beholding a wrong application of the gifts of our heavenly Father; and those expressions concerning the defilement of the earth have been opened to my understanding. "The earth was corrupt before God, and the earth was filled with violence." Gen. vi. 11. Again, Isaiah says, "The earth also is defiled under the inhabitants thereof."

The earth being the work of a Divine power, may not as such be accounted unclean: but when violence is committed thereon, and the channel of righteousness so obstructed, that "in our skirts is found the blood of the souls of poor innocents; not by a secret search, but upon all these."\*

When blood, shed unrighteously, remains unatoned for, and the inhabitants are not effectually purged from it; when they do not wash their hands in innocency, as was figured in the law in the case of one being found slain, Deut. xxi. 6; but seek for gain arising from scenes of violence and oppression;—here the land is polluted with blood.

Moreover, when the earth is planted and tilled, and the fruits brought forth are applied to support unrighteous purposes;—here the gracious design of infinite goodness in these his gifts, being perverted, the earth is defiled; and the complaint formerly uttered becomes applicable: "Thou hast made me to serve with thy sins: thou hast wearied me with thine iniquities."

\* See a Caution and Warning to Great Britain and her Colonies, page 31.

REMARKS  
ON  
SUNDRY SUBJECTS.

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CHAPTER I.

*On loving our Neighbours as ourselves.*

When we love the Lord with all our hearts, and his creatures in his love, we are then preserved in tenderness both toward mankind and the animal creation; but if another spirit gets room in our minds, and we follow it in our proceedings, we are then in the way of disordering the affairs of society.

If a man successful in business expends part of his income in things of no real use, while the poor employed by him pass through great difficulties in getting the necessaries of life, this requires his serious attention.

If several principal men in business unite in setting the wages of those who work for hire, and therein have regard to a profit to themselves, answerable to unnecessary expense in their families, while the wages of the others on a moderate industry will not afford a comfortable living for their families, and a proper education for their children; this is like laying a temptation in the way of some, to strive for a place higher than they are in, when they have not stock sufficient for it.

Now I feel a concern, in the spring of pure love, that all who have plenty of outward substance, may example others in the right use of things;—may carefully look into the condition of poor people, and beware of exacting on them with regard to their wages.

While hired labourers, by moderate industry, thro' the Divine blessing, may live comfortably, raise up families, and give them suitable education, it appears reasonable for them to be content with their wages.

If they who have plenty, love their fellow-creatures in that love which is Divine, and in all their proceedings have an equal regard to the good of mankind universally;—their place in society is a place of care,—an office requiring attention. And the more we possess, the greater is our trust; and with an increase of treasure, an increase of care becomes necessary.

When our will is subject to the will of God; and in relation to the things of this world, we have nothing in view, but a comfortable living, equally with the rest of our fellow-creatures; then outward treasures are no further desirable than as we feel a gift in our minds equal to the trust, and strength to act as dutiful children in His service who hath formed all mankind, and appointed a subsistence for us in this world.

A desire for treasures on any other motive, appears to be against that command of our blessed Saviour, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth." Mat. vi. 19.

He forbids not laying up in the summer against the wants of winter; nor doth he teach us to be slothful in that which properly relates to our being in this world: but in this prohibition he puts in *yourselves*. Lay not up for *yourselves* treasures here on earth.

Now in the pure light, this language is understood; for in the love of Christ there is no respect of persons; and while we abide in his love, we live not to ourselves, but to him who died for us. And as we are thus united in spirit to Christ, we are engaged to labour in promoting that work in the earth for which he suffered.

In this state of mind our desires are, that every honest member in society may have a portion of trea-



sure, and share of trust, answerable to that gift with which our heavenly Father hath gifted us.

In great treasure, there is a great trust.

A great trust requireth great care; but the laborious mind wants rest.

A pious man is content to do a share of business in society, answerable to the gifts with which he is endowed, while the channels of business are free from unrighteousness, but is careful lest at any time his heart be overcharged.

In the harmonious spirit of society, "Christ is all in all."

Here it is that "old things are past away, all things are new, all things are of God;" and the desire for outward riches is at an end.

They of low degree who have small gifts, enjoy their help who have large gifts; those with their small gifts, have a small degree of care, while these with their large gifts, have a large degree of care: and thus to abide in the love of Christ, and enjoy a comfortable living in this world, is all that is aimed at by those members in society, to whom Christ is made *wisdom* and *righteousness*.

But when they who have much treasure, are not faithful stewards of the gifts of God, great difficulties attend it.

Now this matter hath deeply affected my mind.—The Lord, thro' merciful chastisements, hath given me a feeling of that love, in which the harmony of society standeth, and a sight of the growth of that seed which bringeth forth wars and great calamities in the world; and a labour attends me to open it to others.

Now to act with integrity, according to that strength of mind and body with which our Creator hath endowed each of us, appears necessary for all; and he who thus stands in the lowest station in society, appears to be entitled to as comfortable and convenient a living, as he whose gifts of mind are greater, and whose cares are more extensive.

If some, endowed with strong understandings as men, abide not in the harmonious state, in which we *love our neighbours as ourselves*, but walk in that spirit in which the children of this world are wise in their generation;—these, by the strength of contrivance, may sometimes gather great treasures. But the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God; and if we gather treasures in worldly wisdom, we lay up *treasures for ourselves*: and great treasures managed in any other spirit than the spirit of Truth, disordereth the affairs of society; for hereby the good gifts of God in this outward creation, are turned into the channels of worldly honour, and frequently applied to support luxury; while the wages of poor labourers are such, that with moderate industry and frugality, they may not live comfortably, raise up families, and give them suitable education; but through the straitness of their condition, are often drawn on to labour under weariness, to toil through hardships themselves, and frequently to oppress those useful animals with which we are entrusted.

From age to age, throughout all ages, Divine love is that alone in which dominion has been, is, and will be, rightly conducted.

In this the endowments of men are so employed, that the friend and the governor are united in one, and oppressive customs come to an end.

Riches in the hands of individuals in society, is attended with some degree of power; and so far as power is put forth separate from pure love, so far the government of the Prince of peace is interrupted. And as we know not that our children after us will dwell in that state in which power is rightly applied, to lay up riches for them appears to be against the nature of his government.

The earth, through the labour of men, under the blessing of Him who formed it, yieldeth a supply for the inhabitants from generation to generation; and they who walk in the pure light, their minds are prepared to taste and relish not only those blessings

which are spiritual, but also feel a sweetness and satisfaction in a right use of the good gifts of God in the visible creation.

Here we see that man's happiness stands not in great possessions, but in a heart devoted to follow Christ, in that use of things, where customs contrary to universal love have no power over us.

In this state our hearts are prepared to trust in God, and our desires for our children and posterity are, that they with the rest of mankind in ages to come, may be of that number of whom he hath said, "I will be a father to them, and they shall be my sons and daughters."

When wages in a fruitful land bear so small a proportion to the necessaries of life, that poor honest people who have families cannot, by a moderate industry, attain to a comfortable living, and give their children sufficient learning; but must either labour to a degree of oppression, or else omit that which appears to be a duty:

While this is the case with the poor, there is an inclination in the minds of most people, to prepare at least so much treasure for their children, that they with care and moderate industry may live free from these hardships which the poor pass through.

Now this subject requireth our serious consideration. To labour that our children may be put in a way to live comfortably, appears in itself to be a duty; so long as these our labours are consistent with universal righteousness: but if, in striving to shun poverty, we do not walk in that state where *Christ is our life*, then we wander. "He that hath the Son, hath life." "This life is the light of men." If we walk not in this light, we walk in darkness; and "he that walketh in darkness, knoweth not whither he goeth."

To keep to right means in labouring to attain a right end is necessary. If, in striving to shun poverty, we strive only in that state where Christ is the light of our life, our labours will stand in the true

harmony of society. But if people are confident that the end aimed at is good, and in this confidence pursue it so eagerly, as not to wait for the spirit of Truth to lead them; then they come to loss. Christ is given to be a leader and "commander of the people." Isaiah lv. 4. Again; "the Lord shall guide thee continually." Isaiah lviii. 12. Again; "Lord thou wilt ordain peace for us, for thou also hast wrought all our works in us." Isaiah xxvi. 12. "In the Lord have we righteousness and strength." Isaiah xlv. 24.

In this state our minds are preserved watchful in following the leadings of his spirit in all our proceedings in this world, and a care is felt for a reformation in general; that our own posterity, with the rest of mankind in succeeding ages, may not be entangled by oppressive customs, transmitted to them through our hands. But if people, in the narrowness of natural love, are afraid that their children will be oppressed by the rich, and through an eager desire to get treasures, depart from the pure leadings of Truth in one case, though it may seem to be a small matter, yet the mind even in that small matter may be emboldened to continue in a way of proceeding, without waiting for the divine Leader.

Thus people may grow expert in business, wise in the wisdom of this world, retain a fair reputation amongst men, and yet being strangers to the voice of Christ, the safe leader of his flock, the treasures thus gotten may be like snares to the feet of their posterity.

Now to keep faithful to the pure Counsellor, and under trying circumstances suffer adversity for righteousness' sake; in this there is a reward.

If we, being poor, are hardly dealt with by those who are rich, and under this difficulty are frugal and industrious, and in true humility open our case to them who oppress us; this may reach the pure witness in their minds; and though we should remain under difficulties as to the outward, yet if we abide in the love of Christ, all will work for our good.

When we feel what it is to suffer in the true suffering state, then we experience the truth of those expressions, that, "as the sufferings of Christ abound in us, so our consolation aboundeth by Christ."

But if poor people who are hardly dealt with, do not attain to the true suffering state,—do not labour in true love with those who deal hardly with them; but envy their outward greatness, murmur in their hearts because of their own poverty, and strive in the wisdom of this world to get riches for themselves and their children; this is like wandering in the dark.

If we who are of a middle station between riches and poverty, are affected at times with the oppressions of the poor, and feel a tender regard for our posterity after us; Oh! how necessary it is that we wait for the pure counsel of Truth!

Many have seen the hardships of the poor, felt an eager desire that their children may be put in a way to escape these hardships; but how few have continued in that pure love which openeth our understandings to proceed rightly under these difficulties!

How few have faithfully followed that holy Leader, who prepares his people to labour for the restoration of true harmony amongst our fellow-creatures!

In the pure gospel spirit we walk by faith and not by sight.

In the obedience of faith we die to the narrowness of self-love; and our life being hid with Christ in God, our hearts are enlarged toward mankind universally. But in departing from the true light of life, many, in striving to get treasures, have stumbled upon the dark mountains.

Now that purity of life which proceeds from faithfulness in following the spirit of Truth,—that state where our minds are devoted to serve God, and all our wants are bounded by his wisdom; this habitation has often been opened before me as a place of retirement for the children of the light, where we may stand separated from that which disordereth and con-

fuseth the affairs of society, and where we may have a testimony of our innocence in the hearts of those who behold us.

Through departing from the Truth as it is in Jesus, —through introducing ways of life attended with unnecessary expenses, many wants have arisen, the minds of people have been employed in studying to get wealth; and in this pursuit, some departing from equity, have retained a profession of religion; others have looked at their example, and thereby been strengthened to proceed further in the same way. Thus, many have encouraged the trade of taking men from Africa, and selling them as slaves.

It hath been computed that near one hundred thousand negroes have, of late years, been taken annually from that coast, by ships employed in the English trade.

As I have travelled on religious visits in some parts of America, I have seen many of these people under the command of overseers, in a painful servitude.

I have beheld them as gentiles, under people professing christianity, not only kept ignorant of the Scriptures, but under great provocation to wrath; of whom it may truly be said, "They that rule over them make them to howl, and the holy Name is abundantly blasphemed." Where children are taught to read the sacred writings, while young, and exemplified in meekness and humility, it is often helpful to them; nor is this any more than a debt due from us to the succeeding age.

But where youth are pinched for want of the necessaries of life, forced to labour hard under the harsh rebukes of rigorous overseers, and many times endure unmerciful whippings: in such an education, how great are the disadvantages they lie under! And how forcibly do these things work against the increase of the government of the Prince of peace!

Humphrey Smith, in his works, p. 125, speaking of the tender feelings of the love of God in his heart

when he was a child, said, "By the violent wrathful nature that ruled in others, was my quietness disturbed, and anger begotten in me toward them; yet that of God in me was not wholly overcome, but his love was felt in my heart, and great was my grief when the earthly-mindedness and wrathful nature in others so provoked me, that I was estranged from it."

"And this I write as a warning to parents and others, that in the fear of the living God, you may train up the youth, and may not be a means of bringing them into such alienation."

Many are the vanities and luxuries of the present age, and in labouring to support a way of living conformable to the present world, the departure from that wisdom that is pure and peaceable, hath been great.

Under the sense of a deep revolt, and an overflowing stream of unrighteousness, my life has often been a life of mourning; and tender desires are raised in me, that the nature of this practice may be laid to heart.

I have read some books wrote by people who were personally acquainted with the manner of getting slaves in Africa.

I have had verbal relations of this nature from several negroes brought from Africa, who have learned to talk English.

I have sundry times heard Englishmen speak on this subject, who have been in Africa on this business. And from all these accounts, it appears evident that great violence is committed, and much blood shed in Africa in getting slaves.

When three or four hundred slaves are put in the hold of a vessel in a hot climate, their breathing soon affects the air. Were that number of free people to go passengers, with all things proper for their voyage, there would inconvenience arise from their number. But slaves are taken by violence, and frequently endeavour to kill the white people, that they may return to their native land. Hence they are frequent-

ly kept under some sort of confinement, by means of which a scent ariseth in the hold of a ship, and distempers often break out amongst them, of which many die. Of this tainted air in the hold of ships freighted with slaves, I have had several accounts; some in print, and some verbal, and all agree that the scent is grievous. When these people are sold in America, and in the islands, they are commonly made to labour in a manner more servile and constant, than that which they were used to at home. So that with grief, with different diet from what has been common with them, and with hard labour, some thousands are computed to die every year, in what is called the seasoning.

Thus it appears evident, that great numbers of these people are brought every year to an untimely end; many of them being such who never injured us.

Where the innocent suffer under hard-hearted men, even unto death, and the channels of equity are so obstructed, that the cause of the sufferers is not judged in righteousness, "the land is polluted with blood." Numb. xxxv. 33.

Where blood hath been shed unrighteously, and remains unatoned for, the cry thereof is very piercing.

Under the humbling dispensations of Divine Providence, this cry hath deeply affected my heart, and I feel a concern to open, as I may be enabled, that which lieth heavy on my mind.

When the iniquity of the house of Israel and of Judah was exceeding great,—when the land was defiled with blood, and the city full of perverseness; "some were found sighing and crying for the abominations of the times." Ezek. ix. 4. And such who live under a right feeling of our condition as a nation, these I trust will be sensible that the Lord at this day doth call to mourning, though many are ignorant of it. So powerful are bad customs when they become general, that people growing bold through the examples one of another, have often been unmoved at the most serious warnings.



Our blessed Lord speaking of the people of the old world, said, "They eat, they drank, they married, and were given in marriage, until the day that Noah went into the ark, and the flood came and destroyed them all." Luke xvii. 27. He also spake concerning the people of Sodom, who were represented by the prophet as haughty, luxurious, and oppressive: "This was the sin of Sodom; pride, fulness of bread, and abundance of idleness was found in her, and in her daughters; neither did she strengthen the hands of the poor and needy." Ezek. xvi. 49.

Now in a revolt so deep as this, when much blood has been shed unrighteously, in carrying on the slave trade, and in supporting the practice of keeping slaves, which at this day is unatoned for, and crieth from the earth, and from the seas against the oppressor!

While this practice is continued, and, under a great load of guilt there is more unrighteousness committed, the state of things is very moving!

There is a love which stands in nature; and a parent beholding his child in misery, hath a feeling of the affliction. But in Divine love, the heart is enlarged towards mankind universally, and prepared to sympathize with strangers, though in the lowest stations in life. Of this the prophet appears to have had a feeling, when he said, "Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us? Why then do we deal treacherously every man with his brother, in prophaning the covenant of our fathers?" Mal. ii. 10.

He who of old heard the groans of the children of Israel under the hard task-masters in Egypt, I trust hath looked down from his holy habitation on the miseries of these deeply oppressed people. Many lives have been shortened thro' extreme oppression, while they laboured to support luxury and worldly greatness. And tho' many people in outward prosperity may think little of those things, yet the gra-

cious Creator hath regard to the cries of the innocent, however unnoticed by men.

The Lord in the riches of his goodness, is leading some into a feeling of the condition of this people, who cannot rest without labouring as their advocates; of which in some measure I have had experience: for, in the movings of his love in my heart, these poor sufferers have been brought near to me.

The unoffending, aged and infirm, made to labour too hard, kept on a diet less comfortable than their weak state required, and exposed to great difficulties under hard-hearted men; to whose sufferings I have often been a witness, and under the heart melting power of Divine love, their misery hath felt to me like the misery of my parents.

Innocent youth, taken by violence from their native land, from their friends and acquaintance;—put on board ships with hearts laden with sorrow;—exposed to great hardships at sea;—placed under people, where their lives have been attended with great provocation to anger and revenge:

With the condition of these youth, my mind hath often been affected, as with the afflictions of my children. And in a feeling of the misery of these people, and of that great offence which is ministered to them, my tears have been often poured out before the Lord.

That holy Spirit which affected my heart when I was a youth, I trust is often felt by the negroes in their native land, inclining their minds to that which is righteous. And had the professed followers of Christ, in all their conduct toward them, manifested a disposition answerable to the pure principle in their hearts, how might the holy name have been honoured amongst the gentiles! And how might we have rejoiced in the fulfilling of that prophecy; “I the Lord love judgment; I hate robbery for burnt offerings; and I will direct their work in truth, and make an everlasting covenant with them. Their seed shall

be known amongst the gentiles, and their offspring amongst the people: all that see them shall acknowledge them, that they are the seed which the Lord hath blessed." Isaiah lxi. 8, 9.

But in the present state of things, how contrary is this practice to that meek spirit, in which our Saviour gave his life for us, that all the ends of the earth might know salvation in his name!

How are the sufferings of our blessed Redeemer set at nought, and his name blasphemed amongst the gentiles, through the unrighteous proceedings of his professed followers!

My mind hath often been affected, even from the days of my youth, under a sense of that marvellous work, for which God, in infinite goodness, sent his Son into the world.

The opening of that spring of living waters, which the true believers in Christ experience; by which they are redeemed from pride and covetousness, and brought into a state of meekness, where their hearts are enlarged in true love toward their fellow-creatures universally: this work to me has been precious, and the spreading of the knowledge of the Truth among the gentiles, been very desirable. And the professed followers of Christ joining in customs evidently unrighteous, which manifestly tend to stir up wrath, and increase wars and desolations, hath often covered my mind with sorrow.

If we bring this matter home, and as Job proposed to his friends, put our soul in their souls' stead:

If we consider ourselves and our children as exposed to the hardships which these people lie under in supporting an imaginary greatness:

Did we in such case behold an increase of luxury and superfluity amongst our oppressors, and therewith felt an increase of the weight of our burdens; and expected our posterity to groan under oppression after us:

Under all this misery, had we none to plead our cause, nor any hope of relief from man, how would

our cries ascend to the God of the spirits of all flesh, who judgeth the world in righteousness, and in his own time is a refuge for the oppressed!

If they who thus afflicted us, continued to lay claim to religion, and were assisted in their business by others, esteemed pious people, who through a friendship with them strengthened their hands in tyranny:

In such a state, when we were hunger-bitten, and could not have sufficient nourishment; but saw them in fulness pleasing their taste with things fetched from far:

When we were wearied with labour, denied the liberty to rest, and saw them spending their time at ease: when garments answerable to our necessities were denied us, while we saw them clothed in that which was costly and delicate:

Under such affliction, how would these painful feelings rise up as witnesses against their pretended devotion! And if the name of their religion was mentioned in our hearing, how would it sound in our ears like a word which signified self-exaltation, and hardness of heart!

When a trade is carried on, productive of much misery, and they who suffer by it are some thousand miles off, the danger is the greater of not laying their sufferings to heart.

In procuring slaves on the coast of Africa, many children are stolen privately; wars also are encouraged amongst the negroes; but all is at a great distance.

Many groans arise from dying men, which we hear not.

Many cries are uttered by widows and fatherless children, which reach not our ears.

Many cheeks are wet with tears, and faces sad with unutterable grief, which we see not.

Cruel tyranny is encouraged. The hands of robbers are strengthened; and thousands reduced to the most abject slavery, who never injured us.

Were we for the term of one year only, to be eye-witnesses to what passeth in getting these slaves:

Was the blood which is there shed to be sprinkled on our garments:

Were the poor captives, bound with thongs, heavy laden with elephants teeth, to pass before our eyes on their way to the sea:

Were their bitter lamentations day after day to ring in our ears, and their mournful cries in the night to hinder us from sleeping:

Were we to hear the sound of the tumult, when the slaves on board the ships attempt to kill the English, and behold the issue of those bloody conflicts:—

What pious man could be a witness to these things, and see a trade carried on in this manner, without being deeply affected with sorrow!

Through abiding in the love of Christ, we feel a tenderness in our hearts toward our fellow-creatures entangled in oppressive customs; and a concern so to walk that our conduct may not be a means of strengthening them in error.

It was the command of the Lord through Moses, “Thou shalt not suffer sin upon thy brother: thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy brother, and shalt not suffer sin upon him.” Lev. xix. 17.

Again; “Keep far from a false matter; and the innocent and righteous slay thou not.” Exod. xxiii. 7.

The prophet Isaiah mentions oppression as that which the true church in time of outward quiet, should not only be clear of, but should be *far from it*—“Thou shalt be far from oppression.” Isaiah liv. 14. Now these words, *far from*, appear to have an extensive meaning, and to convey instruction in regard to that of which Solomon speaks; “Though hand join in hand, yet the wicked shall not go unpunished.” Prov. xvi. 5.

It was a complaint against one of old, “When thou sawest a thief, thou consentedst with him.” Psalm. i. 18.

The prophet Jeremiah represents the degrees of

preparation toward idolatrous sacrifice, in the similitude of a work carried on by children, men, and women,—“The children gather wood, the fathers kindle the fire, and the women knead the dough to bake cakes for the queen of heaven.” Jer. vii. 18.

It was a complaint of the Lord against Israel, through his prophet Ezekiel, that “they strengthened the hands of the wicked, and made the hearts of the righteous sad.”

Some works of iniquity carried on by the people were represented by the prophet Hosea, in the similitude of ploughing, reaping, and eating the fruit: “You have ploughed wickedness, reaped iniquity, eaten the fruit of lying, because thou didst trust in thy own way, to the multitude of thy mighty men.”

The prophet, speaking of the true church, said, “Thy people also shall be all righteous.”

Of the depth of this Divine work several have spoken.

John Gratton, in his Journal, p. 45, said, “The Lord is my portion, I shall not want. He hath wrought all my works in me. I am nothing but what I am in him.”

Gilbert Latey, through the powerful operations of the spirit of Christ in his soul, was brought to that depth of self-denial, that he could not join with that proud spirit in other people, which inclined them to want vanities and superfluities. This Friend was often amongst the chief rulers of the nation in times of persecution; and it appears by the testimony of Friends, that his dwelling was so evidently in the pure life of Truth, that in his visits to those great men, he found a place in their minds; and that king James the Second, in the times of his troubles, made particular mention in a very respectful manner of what Gilbert once said to him.

The said Gilbert found a concern to write an epistle, in which are these expressions: “Fear the Lord, ye men of all sorts, trades, and callings, and leave off all the evil that is in them, for the Lord is

grieved with the evils used in your employments which you are exercised in."

"It is even a grief to see how you are servants to sin, and instruments of Satan." See his works, p. 42, &c.

George Fox, in an epistle, writes thus: "Friends, stand in the eternal power of God, witnesses against the pomps and vanities of this world."

"Such tradesmen who stand as witnesses in the power of God, cannot fulfil the people's minds in these vanities, and therefore they are offended at them."

"Let all trust in the Lord, and wait patiently on him. For when Truth first broke forth in London, many tradesmen could not take so much money in their shops for some time, as would buy them bread and water, because they withstood the world's ways, fashions, and customs; yet by their patient waiting on the Lord in their good life and conversation, they answered the truth in people's hearts, and thus their business increased." Book of Doctrinals, p. 824.

Now Christ our holy leader graciously continueth to open the understandings of his people; and as circumstances alter from age to age, some who are deeply baptized into a feeling of the state of things, are led by his holy spirit into exercises in some respect different from those which attended the faithful in foregoing ages, and through the constrainings of pure love, are engaged to open the feelings they have to others.

In faithfully following Christ, the heart is weaned from the desire of riches, and we are led into a life so plain and simple, that a little doth suffice; and thus the way openeth to deny ourselves, under all the tempting allurements of that gain, which we know is the gain of unrighteousness.

The apostle, speaking on this subject, asketh this question; "What fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness?" And again saith, "Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but

rather reprove them." Ephes. v. 11. Again, "Be not partaker of other men's sins, keep thyself pure." 1 Tim. v. 22.

Where people, through the power of Christ, are thoroughly settled in a right use of things, freed from all unnecessary care and expense; the mind in this true resignation is at liberty from the bands of a narrow self-interest, to attend from time to time on the movings of his spirit upon us, though he leads into that, through which our faith is closely tried.

The language of Christ is pure, and to the pure in heart, this pure language is intelligible: but in the love of money, the mind being intent on gain, is too full of human contrivance to attend to it.

It appeareth evident that some channels of trade are defiled with unrighteousness, that the minds of many are intent on getting treasures to support a life in which there are many unnecessary expenses. And I feel a living concern attend my mind, that under these difficulties we may humbly follow our heavenly Shepherd, who graciously regardeth his flock, and is willing and able to supply us both inwardly and outwardly with clean provender, that hath been winnowed with the shovel and the fan; where we may "sow to ourselves in righteousness, reap in mercy;" and not be defiled with the works of iniquity.

Where customs contrary to pure wisdom are transmitted to posterity, it appears to be an injury committed against them; and I often feel tender compassion toward a young generation, and desires that their difficulties may not be increased through unfaithfulness in us of the present age.



## CHAPTER II.

*On a Sailor's Life.*

In the trade to Africa for slaves, and in the management of ships going on these voyages, many of our lads and young men have a considerable part of their education.

Now what pious father beholding his son placed in one of these ships, to learn the practice of a mariner, could forbear mourning over him?

Where youth are exampled in means of getting money, so full of violence, and used to exercise such cruelties on their fellow-creatures, the disadvantage to them in their education is very great.

But I feel it in my mind to write concerning the sea-faring life in general.

In the trade carried on from the West Indies, and from some parts of the continent, the produce of the labour of slaves is a considerable part. And sailors who are frequently at ports where slaves abound, and converse often with people who oppress without the appearance of remorse, and often with sailors employed in the slave trade, how powerfully do these evil examples spread amongst the sea-faring youth!

I have had many opportunities to feel and understand the general state of the sea-faring life amongst us; and my mind hath often been sad on account of so many lads and young men being trained up amidst so great corruption.

Under the humbling power of Christ, I have seen that if the leadings of his holy spirit were faithfully attended to by his professed followers in general, the heathen nations would be exampled in righteousness. A less number of people would be employed on the seas. The channels of trade would be more free from defilement. Fewer people would be employed in vanities and superfluities. The inhabitants of cities would be less in number. Those who have

much lands would become fathers to the poor. More people would be employed in the sweet employment of husbandry; and in the path of pure wisdom, labour would be an agreeable, healthful employment.

In the opening of these things in my mind, I feel a living concern that we who have felt Divine love in our hearts, may faithfully abide in it, and like good soldiers endure hardness for Christ's sake.

He, our blessed Saviour, exhorting his followers to love one another, adds, "As I have loved you."

He loved Lazarus, yet in his sickness did not heal him, but left him to endure the pains of death, that in restoring him to life, the people might be confirmed in the true faith.

He loved his disciples, but sent them forth on a message attended with great difficulty, amongst hard-hearted people, some of whom would think that in killing them they did God service.

So deep is Divine love, that in steadfastly abiding in it, we are prepared to deny ourselves of all that gain which is contrary to pure wisdom, and to follow Christ, even under contempt, and through sufferings.

While Friends were kept truly humble, and walked according to the purity of our principles, the Divine witness in many hearts was reached: but when a worldly spirit got entrance, therewith came in luxuries and superfluities, and spread by little and little, even amongst the foremost rank in society, and from thence others took liberty in that way more abundantly.

In the continuation of these things from parents to children, there were many wants to supply; even wants unknown to Friends while they faithfully followed Christ. And in striving to supply these wants many have exacted on the poor, many have entered on employments, in which they often labour in upholding pride and vanity. Many have looked on one another, been strengthened in these things, one by the example of another, and as to the pure Divine

seeing, dimness hath come over many, and the channels of true brotherly love been obstructed.

People may have no intention to oppress, yet by entering on expensive ways of life, their minds may be so entangled therein, and so engaged to support expensive customs, as to be estranged from the pure sympathizing spirit.

As I have travelled in England, I have had a tender feeling of the condition of poor people; some of whom, though honest and industrious, have nothing to spare toward paying for the schooling of their children.

There is a proportion between labour and the necessaries of life, and, in true brotherly love, the mind is open to feel after the necessities of the poor.

Amongst the poor there are some that are weak through age, and others of a weakly nature, who pass through straits in a very private life, without asking relief from the public.

Such who are strong and healthy may do that business which to the weakly may be oppressive; and in performing that in a day which is esteemed a day's labour, by weakly persons in the field and in the shops, and by weakly women who spin and knit in the manufactories, they often pass through weariness; and many sighs I believe are uttered in secret, unheard by some who might ease their burdens.

Labour in the right medium is healthy, but in too much of it there is a painful weariness; and the hardships of the poor are sometimes increased through want of more agreeable nourishment, more plentiful fuel for the fire, and warmer clothing in the winter than their wages will answer.

When I have beheld plenty in some houses to a degree of luxury,—the condition of poor children brought up without learning, and the condition of the weakly and aged, who strive to live by their labour, have often revived in my mind, as cases of which some who live in fulness need to be put in remembrance.

There are few, if any, who could behold their fellow-creatures lie long in distress and forbear to help them, when they could do it without any inconvenience; but customs requiring much labour to support them, do often lie heavy on the poor, while they who live in these customs are so entangled in a multitude of unnecessary concerns, that they think but little of the hardships which the poor people go through.

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CHAPTER III.

*On Silent Worship.*

Worship in silence hath often been refreshing to my mind, and a care attends me that a young generation may feel the nature of this worship.

Great expense ariseth in relation to that which is called divine worship.

A considerable part of this expense is applied toward outward greatness, and many poor people in raising of tithes, labour in supporting customs contrary to the simplicity that there is in Christ; toward whom my mind hath often been moved with pity.

In pure silent worship, we dwell under the holy anointing, and feel Christ to be our shepherd.

Here the best of teachers ministers to the several conditions of his flock, and the soul receives immediately from the Divine fountain, that with which it is nourished.

As I have travelled at times where those of other societies have attended our meetings, and have perceived how little some of them knew of the nature of silent worship; I have felt tender desires in my heart that we who often sit silent in our meetings, may live answerable to the nature of an inward fellowship with God, that no stumbling-block through us, may be laid in their way.

Such is the load of unnecessary expense which lieth on that which is called divine service in many places; and so much are the minds of many people employed in outward forms and ceremonies, that the opening of an inward silent worship in this nation to me hath appeared to be a precious opening.

Within the last four hundred years, many pious people have been deeply exercised in soul on account of the superstition which prevailed amongst the professed followers of Christ; and in support of their testimony against oppressive idolatry, some in several ages have finished their course in the flames.

It appears by the history of the reformation, that through the faithfulness of the martyrs, the understandings of many have been opened, and the minds of people, from age to age, been more and more prepared for a real spiritual worship.

My mind is often affected with a sense of the condition of those people, who in different ages have been meek and patient, following Christ through great afflictions. And while I behold the several steps of reformation, and that clearness, to which through Divine goodness, it hath been brought by our ancestors; I feel tender desires that we who sometimes meet in silence, may never by our conduct lay stumbling-blocks in the way of others, and hinder the progress of the reformation in the world.

It was a complaint against some who were called the Lord's people, that they brought polluted bread to his altar, and said the table of the Lord was contemptible.

In real silent worship the soul feeds on that which is Divine; but we cannot partake of the table of the Lord, and that table which is prepared by the god of this world.

If Christ is our shepherd, and feedeth us, and we are faithful in following him, our lives will have an inviting language, and the table of the Lord will not be polluted.

# AN EPISTLE

TO THE

*Quarterly and Monthly Meetings of Friends.*

Beloved Friends,—

Feeling at this time a renewed concern that the pure principle of light and life, and the righteous fruits thereof may spread and prevail amongst mankind, there is an engagement in my heart to labour with my brethren in religious profession, that none of us may be a stumbling-block in the way of others; but may so walk that our conduct may reach the pure witness in the hearts of such who are not in profession with us.

And, dear Friends, while we publicly own that the Holy Spirit is our leader, the profession is in itself weighty; and the weightiness thereof increaseth, in proportion as we are noted among the professors of Truth, and active in dealing with such who walk disorderly.

Many under our profession, for want of due attention, and a perfect resignation to this divine Teacher, have in some things manifested a deviation from the purity of our religious principles: and these deviations having crept in amongst us by little and little, and increasing from less to greater, have been so far unnoticed, that some living in them, have been active in putting discipline in practice, with relation to others, whose conduct hath appeared more dishonourable in the world.

Now as my mind hath been exercised before the Lord, I have seen, that the discipline of the church of Christ standeth in that which is pure;—that it is the wisdom from above which gives authority to discipline;—and that the weightiness thereof standeth

not in any outward circumstances, but in the authority of Christ, who is the author of it. And where any walk after the flesh, and not according to the purity of Truth, and at the same time are active in putting discipline in practice, a veil is gradually drawn over the purity of discipline, and over that holiness of life which Christ leads those into "in whom the love of God is verily perfected." 1 John ii. 5.

When we labour in true love with offenders, and they remain obstinate, it sometimes is necessary to proceed as far as our blessed Lord directed: "Let him be to thee as an heathen man, or a publican." Mat. xviii. 17.

Now when such are disowned, and they who act therein feel Christ made unto them wisdom; and are preserved in the meek, restoring spirit, there is no just cause of offence ministered to any. But when such who are active in dealing with offenders, indulge themselves in things which are contrary to the purity of Truth, and yet judge others whose conduct appears more dishonourable than their's;—here the pure authority of discipline ceaseth as to such offenders, and a temptation is laid in their way to wrangle and contend.

"Judge not," said our blessed Lord, "that ye be not judged." Now this forbidding alludes to man's judgment, and points out the necessity of our humbly attending to that sanctifying power, under which the faithful experience the Lord to be "a spirit of judgment to them." Isa. xxviii. 6. And as we feel his Holy Spirit to mortify the deeds of the body in us, we can say, "it is no more I that live, but Christ that liveth in me." Here right judgment is known.

And while Divine love prevails in our hearts, and self in us is brought under judgment, a preparation is felt to labour in a right manner with offenders.—But if we abide not in this love, our outward performance in dealing with others, degenerates into for-

mality: for "this is the love of God, that we keep his commandments." 1 John v. 3.

How weighty are those instructions of our Redeemer concerning religious duties, when he points out that they who pray, should be so obedient to the teachings of the holy Spirit, that, humbly confiding in his help, they may say, Thy name, O Father, be hallowed! "Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven." In this awful state of mind, is felt that worship which stands in doing the will of God on earth as it is done in heaven, and keeping the holy Name sacred. To take a holy profession upon us is awful; nor can we keep this holy Name sacred, but by humbly abiding under the power of the cross of Christ. The apostle made heavy complaint against some who prophaned this holy Name by their manner of living. "Through you," he says, "the name of God is blasphemed amongst the Gentiles." Rom. ii. 24.

Some of our ancestors, through many tribulations, were gathered into the state of true worshippers, and had fellowship in that which is pure; and as one was inwardly moved to kneel down in their assemblies, and publicly call on the name of the Lord, those in the harmony of united exercise, then present, joined in the prayer. I mention this, in order that we of the present age, may look unto the Rock from whence we were hewn, and remember that to unite in worship is a union in prayer; and that prayer acceptable to the Father, is only in a mind truly sanctified, where the sacred name is kept holy, and the heart resigned to do his will on earth as it is done in heaven. "If ye abide in me," saith Christ, "and my words abide in you, ye shall ask what ye will in my name, and it shall be done unto you." Now we know not what to pray for as we ought, but as the holy Spirit doth open and direct our minds; and as we faithfully yield to its influences, our prayers are in the will of our heavenly Father, who fails not to



grant that which his own spirit, through his children, asketh. Thus preservation from sin is known, and the fruits of righteousness are brought forth by such who inwardly unite in prayer.

How weighty are our solemn meetings when the name of Christ taken upon us is kept holy.

“How precious is that state, in which the children of the Lord are so redeemed from the love of this world, that they are accepted and blessed in all that they do.” R. Barclay’s Apology, p. 404.

How necessary is it that we who profess these principles, and are outwardly active in supporting them, should faithfully abide in Divine strength; that as He who hath called us, is holy, so we may be holy in all manner of conversation. 1 Pet. i. 15.

If one professing to be influenced by the Spirit of Christ, proposeth to unite in a labour to promote righteousness in the earth, and in time past he hath manifestedly deviated from the path of equity; then, to act consistent with this principle, his first work is to make restitution so far as he may be enabled.—For, if he attempts to contribute toward a work intended to promote righteousness, while it appears that he neglecteth, or refuseth to act righteously himself,—his conduct herein has a tendency to entangle the minds of those who are weak in the faith, who behold these things;—and to draw a veil over the purity of righteousness, by carrying an appearance as though that was righteousness which is not.

Again, if I propose to assist in supporting those doctrines, wherein that purity of life is held forth in which customs proceeding from the spirit of this world have no place, and at the same time strengthen others in those customs by my example; the first step then in an orderly proceeding, is to cease from those customs myself, and afterwards to labour, as I may be enabled, to promote the like disposition and conduct in others. To be convinced of the pure principle of Truth, and diligently exercised in walking an-

swerable thereto, is necessary, before I can consistently recommend this principle to others.

I often feel a labour in spirit, that we who are active members in religious society, may experience in ourselves the truth of those expressions of the Holy One—"I will be sanctified in them that come nigh me." Lev. x. 3. In this cause my mind hath been often exercised when alone, year after year, for many years; and in the renewings of Divine love, a tender care hath been incited in me, that we who profess this inward Light to be our teacher, may be a family united in that purity of worship, which comprehends a holy life, and ministers instruction to others.

My mind is often drawn towards children who have a small share of the things of this life, and who coming to have families, may be inwardly exercised before the Lord to support them in a way agreeable to the purity of Truth, wherein they may feel his blessing upon them in their labours: and the thoughts of such being entangled with customs (contrary to pure wisdom) conveyed to them through our hands, doth often very tenderly and movingly affect my heart. And while I look towards my own dissolution, and think on the succeeding generation—fervent desires are raised in me, that we yielding to that holy Spirit which leads into all truth, may not do the work of the Lord deceitfully,—may not live contrary to the purity of the Divine principle we profess: but that, as faithful labourers in our age, we may be instrumental in removing the stumbling-blocks out of the way of those who may succeed us.

Such was the love of Christ, that he gave himself for the church, that he might so sanctify and cleanse it, that it should be holy, and without blemish, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing. And where any take the name of Christ upon them, and profess to be led by his holy Spirit, and yet manifestly deviate from the purity of Truth; these acting herein against the gracious design of his giving him-

self for us, do minister cause for the continuation of his afflictions.

Christ suffered afflictions in a body of flesh received from the virgin Mary: but the afflictions of Christ are yet unfinished: for they who are baptized into Christ are baptized into his death; and as we humbly abide under the sanctifying power, and come forth in newness of life, we feel Christ to live in us: and he being the same yesterday, to-day, and forever, and always at unity with himself, his spirit in the hearts of his people leads to an inward exercise for the salvation of mankind. And when, under travail of spirit, we behold a visited people entangled with that which is not of the Father, but of the world, and therein fail of being faithful examples to others,—under a sense of these things, sorrow and heaviness is often experienced: and thus, in some measure, is filled up that which remains of the afflictions of Christ.

Our blessed Lord, speaking concerning gifts offered in Divine service, says, “If thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift.” He saith not, seek reconciliation before thou bringest a second gift; but commands a full stop. First go, and be reconciled to thy brother. Now there is no true unity, but in that wherein the Father and the Son are united; nor can there be a perfect reconciliation, but in ceasing from that which ministers cause for the continuation of the afflictions of Christ. And if any proposing to bring their gift to the altar, do remember the customary contradiction which some of their fruits bear to a pure, spiritual worship; here it appears necessary to lay to heart this command, “Leave thy gift by the altar.”

Christ graciously calls his people brethren; “whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother.” Now if we walk contrary to the Truth as it is in Jesus while we continue to profess it, we offend against Christ: and if, under this offence, we bring our gift to the altar, our Redeemer doth not direct us

to take back our gift;—he doth not discourage us from proceeding in a good work; but graciously points out the necessary means by which the gift may be rendered acceptable. “Leave,” saith he, “thy gift by the altar; first go, and be reconciled to thy brother.”—Cease from that which grieves the holy Spirit;—cease from that which is against the Truth as it is in Jesus, and then come and offer thy gift.

I feel, while I am writing, a tenderness toward such, who through Divine favour, are preserved in a lively feeling of the state of the churches, and who at times may be under discouragements with regard to proceeding in that pure way which Christ by his holy spirit leads into. The depth of disorder and weakness which so much prevails, being opened, doubtings are apt to arise, as to the possibility of proceeding as an assembly of the Lord’s people in the pure counsel of Truth. And here I feel a concern to express in uprightness, that which hath been opened in my mind, under the power of the cross of Christ, relating to a gathered visible church, the members whereof are guided by the holy Spirit.

This church is called the body of Christ. Col. i. 24.

Christ is called the head of the church. Eph. i. 22.

The church is called the pillar and ground of truth. 1 Tim. iii. 15.

Thus the church hath a name that is sacred; and the necessity of keeping this name holy, appears evident. For where a number of people unite in a profession of being led by the spirit of Christ, and publish their principles to the world, the acts and proceedings of that people may in some measure be considered as those which Christ is the author of.

Now while we stand in this station, if the pure light of life is not followed in our proceedings, we are in the way of profaning the holy Name, and of going backward towards that wilderness of sufferings and persecution, out of which, through the tender mercies of God, a church hath, in great measure, been gathered. Christ liveth in sanctified vessels. And where

they behold this holy Name profaned, and the pure gospel light eclipsed, through the unfaithfulness of such who by their station appear to be standard-bearers under the Prince of peace;— these living members in the body of Christ, in beholding these things, do in some degree experience the fellowship of his sufferings. And as the wisdom of this world more and more takes place in conducting the affairs of this visible gathered church, and the pure leadings of the Holy Spirit are less waited for and followed; so the true suffering seed is more and more oppressed.

My mind is often affected with a sense of the condition of sincere-hearted people in some kingdoms where liberty of conscience is not allowed; many of whom being burdened in their minds with prevailing superstition, joined with oppressions, are often under sorrow. And where such have attended to that pure Light which hath in some degree opened their understandings, and for their faithfulness thereto, have been brought to examination and trial, how heavy are the persecutions which in divers parts of the world are exercised upon them! How mighty, as to the outward, is that power by which they are borne down and oppressed!

How deeply affecting is the condition of many upright-hearted people who are taken into the papal inquisition! What lamentable cruelties, in deep vaults, in a private way, are exercised on many of them! And how lingering is that death, by a small slow fire, which those have frequently endured, who have been faithful to the end!

How many tender-spirited protestants have been sentenced to spend the remainder of their lives in a galley chained to oars, under hard-hearted masters; while their young children were placed out for education among strangers, and taught principles so contrary to the consciences of the parents, that in dissenting from them, they have hazarded their liberty, and all that was dear to them of the things of this world?

There have been, in times past, severe persecutions under the English government; and many sincere-hearted people, in different ages, have suffered death for the testimony of a good conscience; whose faithfulness in their day hath ministered encouragement to others, and been a blessing to many who have succeeded them. Thus, from age to age, the darkness being more and more removed, a channel at length, through the tender mercies of God, hath been opened for the exercise of the pure gift of the gospel ministry, without interruption from outward power; a work, the like of which is rare, and unknown in many parts of the world.

As these things are often fresh in my mind, and this great work of God going on in the world has been open before me, that liberty of conscience with which we are favoured, hath appeared not as a light matter.

A trust is committed to us, a great and weighty trust, to which our diligent attention is necessary.—Wherever the active members of this visible gathered church use themselves to that which is contrary to the purity of our principles, it appears to be a breach of this trust, and one step backwards toward the wilderness;—one step towards undoing what God, in infinite love, hath done through his faithful servants, in a work of several ages; and is like laying the foundation for future sufferings.

I feel a living invitation in my mind to such who are active in our religious society, that we may lay to heart this matter, and consider the station in which we stand. We stand in a place of outward liberty, under the free exercise of our conscience towards God, not obtained but through great and manifold afflictions of those who lived before us. There is gratitude due from us to our heavenly Father: there is justice due to our posterity. Can our hearts endure, or our hands be strong, if we desert a cause so precious;—if we turn aside from a work under which so many have patiently laboured?

May the deep sufferings of Christ be so dear to us, that we may never trample under foot the adorable Son of God, nor count the blood of the covenant unholy!

May the faithfulness of the martyrs, when the prospect of death by fire was before them, be remembered. And may the patient, constant sufferings of upright-hearted servants of God in later ages, be revived in our minds! And may we so follow on to know the Lord, that neither the faithful in this age, nor those in ages to come, may ever be brought under sufferings through our sliding back from the work of reformation in the world!

While the active members in the visible gathered church, stand upright, and the affairs thereof are carried on under the leadings of the Holy Spirit, altho' disorders may arise amongst us, and cause many exercises to such who feel the care of the churches upon them: yet while these continue under the weight of the work, and labour in the meekness of wisdom for the help of others, the name of Christ in the visible gathered church may be kept sacred. But while they who are active in the affairs of this church, continue in a manifest opposition to the purity of our principles; this, as the prophet Isaiah expresseth it, is like "as when a standard-bearer fainteth." And thus the way opens to great, and prevailing degeneracy, and to sufferings for such who through the power of Divine love, are *separated to the gospel of Christ*, and cannot unite with any thing which stands in opposition to the purity of it.

The necessity of an inward stillness, hath, under these exercises, appeared clear to my mind. In true silence strength is renewed; the mind herein is weaned from all things, but as they may be enjoyed in the Divine will; and a lowliness in outward living, opposite to worldly honour, becomes truly acceptable to us. In the desire after outward gain, the mind is prevented from a perfect attention to the voice of Christ; but in the weaning of the mind from all

things, but as they may be enjoyed in the Divine will, the pure light shines into the soul. And where the fruits of that spirit which is of this world, are brought forth by many who profess to be led by the spirit of Truth, and cloudiness is felt to be gathering over the visible gathered church,—the sincere in heart who abide in true stillness, and therein are exercised before the Lord for his name's sake;—have a knowledge of Christ in the fellowship of his sufferings; and inward thankfulness is felt, at times, that thro' Divine love our own wisdom is cast out, and that forward active part in us subjected, which would rise up and do something in the visible gathered church without the pure leadings of the Spirit of Christ.

While aught remains in us different from a perfect resignation of our wills, it is like a seal to a book wherein is written that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God “concerning us.” But when our minds entirely yield to Christ, that silence is known, which followeth the opening of the last of the seals. Rev. viii. 1. In this silence we learn a patient abiding in the Divine will, and there feel, that we have no cause to promote but that only in which the light of life directs us in our proceedings; and that the only way to be useful in the church of Christ, is to abide faithfully under the leadings of his holy spirit in all cases: that therein being preserved in purity of heart and holiness of conversation, a testimony to the purity of his government may be held forth through us to others.

As my mind hath been thus exercised, I have seen that to be active and busy in the visible gathered church, without the leadings of the Holy Spirit, is not only unprofitable, but tends to increase dimness; and where way is not opened to proceed in the light of Truth, a stop is felt by those who humbly attend to the Divine leader:—a stop, which in relation to good order in the visible gathered church, is of the greatest consequence to be observed. Thus, Robert



Barclay in his treatise on discipline holds forth, "That the judgment or conclusion of the church or congregation, is no further effectual as to the true end and design thereof, but as such judgment or conclusion proceeds from the Spirit of God operating on their minds who are sanctified in Christ Jesus." p. 65. 68. 84.

Now in this stop I have learned the necessity of waiting on the Lord in humility, that the works of all may be brought to light, and those brought to judgment which are wrought in the wisdom of this world. And I have seen, that in a mind thoroughly subjected to the power of the cross, there is a savour of life which may be felt, and which evidently tends to gather souls to God; while the greatest works in the visible gathered church, brought forth in man's wisdom, remain to be unprofitable.

Where people are divinely gathered into a holy fellowship, and faithfully abide under the influence of that Spirit which leads into all truth, they are *the light of the world*. Now, holding this profession, to me hath appeared weighty, even weighty beyond what I can fully express; and what our blessed Lord appears to have had in view, when he proposed the necessity of counting the cost, before we begin to build.

I trust there are many who, at times, under Divine visitation, feel an inward inquiry after God; and when such, in the simplicity of their hearts, mark the lives of a people who profess to walk by the leadings of his Spirit, of what great concernment it is that our lights shine clear;—that nothing pertaining to us carry a contradiction to the Truth as it is in Jesus, or be a means of profaning the holy Name, and a stumbling-block in the way of those sincere inquirers.

When such seekers who wearied with empty forms, look towards uniting with us as a people, and behold active members amongst us in their customary way of living, depart from that purity of life, which un-

der humbling exercises hath been opened before them, as the way of the Lord's people;—how mournful and discouraging is the prospect! and how strongly doth such unfaithfulness operate against the spreading of the peaceable, harmonious principle and testimony of Truth amongst mankind?

In entering into that life which is hid with Christ in God, we behold the peaceable government of Christ, where the whole family are governed by the same spirit; and the doing to others as we would they should do unto us, groweth up as good fruit from a good tree. The peace, the quietness, and harmonious walking in this government, is beheld with humble reverence to him who is the author of it; and in partaking of the spirit of Christ, we partake of that which labours, and suffers for the increase of this peaceable government among the inhabitants of the world. And I have felt a labour of long continuance, that we who profess this peaceable principle, may be faithful standard-bearers under the Prince of peace; and that nothing of a defiling nature, tending to discord and wars, may remain amongst us.

May each of us query with ourselves, have the treasures I possess, been gathered in that wisdom which is from above, so far as hath appeared to me?

Have none of my fellow-creatures an equitable right to any part of that which is called mine?

Have the gifts and possessions received by me from others, been conveyed in a way free from all unrighteousness, so far as I have seen?

The principle of peace, in which our trust is only in God, and our minds weaned from a dependance on the strength of armies,—to me hath appeared very precious; and I often feel strong desires that we who profess this principle, may so walk as to give just cause for none of our fellow-creatures to be offended at us;—that our lives may evidently manifest that we are redeemed from that spirit in which wars are. Our blessed Lord, in pointing out the danger of so

leaning on man as to neglect the leadings of the Holy Spirit, said, "Call no man your father upon the earth; for one is your Father which is in heaven." Where the wisdom from above is faithfully followed, and therein we are entrusted with substance, it is a treasure committed to our care in the nature of an inheritance;—as an inheritance from him who formed and supports the world. Now in this condition, the true enjoyment of the good things of this life is understood, and that blessing felt, in which is real safety. This is what our blessed Lord appears to have had in view, when he said, Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth.

Selfish men may hold lands in the selfish spirit, and depending on outward power, be perplexed with secret uneasiness, lest the injured should some time overpower them, and that measure be meted to them, which they measure to others. Thus selfish men may possess the earth; but it is the meek who inherit the earth,—who enjoy it as an inheritance from their heavenly Father, free from all the defilements and perplexities of unrighteousness.

Where proceedings have been in that wisdom which is from beneath, and unequitable gain gathered by a man, and left as a gift to his children, who being entangled with the worldly spirit, have not attained to that clearness of light in which the channels of righteousness are opened, and justice done to those who remain silent under injuries;—here I have seen under humbling exercises of mind, that the sins of the fathers are embraced by the children, and become their sins; and thus in the days of tribulation, the iniquities of the fathers are visited upon these children, who take hold on the unrighteousness of their fathers, and live in that spirit in which those iniquities were committed. To which agreeth that prophecy of Moses, concerning a rebellious people: "They that are left of you shall pine away in their iniquities, in your enemy's land; and in the iniquities of their fathers shall they pine away." And our blessed Lord, in

beholding the hardness of heart in that generation, and feeling in himself that they lived in the same spirit in which the prophets had been persecuted unto death, signified that the blood of all the prophets shed from the foundation of the world, should be required of that generation; from the blood of Abel, unto the blood of Zacharias, which perished between the altar and the temple.

Tender compassion fills my heart toward my fellow-creatures estranged from the harmonious government of the Prince of peace; and a labour attends me, that they may be gathered to this peaceable habitation.

In being inwardly prepared to suffer adversity for Christ's sake, and weaned from a dependance on the arm of flesh, we feel that there is a rest for the people of God; and that this rest stands in a perfect resignation of ourselves to his will. This condition, where all our wants and desires are bounded by pure wisdom, and our minds wholly attentive to the inward counsel of Christ, hath appeared to me as a habitation of safety for the Lord's people, in times of outward commotion and trouble; and desires from the fountain of pure love, are opened in me, to invite my brethren and fellow-creatures to feel for, and seek after, that which gathers the mind into it.

JOHN WOOLMAN.

Mount Holly, New Jersey, }  
4th month, 1772. }

# A PLEA FOR THE POOR:

OR

## A WORD OF REMEMBRANCE AND CAUTION TO THE RICH.

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### CHAPTER I.

Wealth, desired for its own sake, obstructs the increase of virtue; and large possessions in the hands of selfish men have a bad tendency; for, by their means, too small a number of people are employed in things useful; and therefore some of them are necessitated to labour too hard, while others would want business to earn their bread, were not employments invented, which, having no real usefulness, serve only to please the vain mind.

Rents set on lands, are often so high, that persons who have but small substance are straitened in taking farms; and while tenants are healthy, and prosperous in business, they often find occasion to labour harder than was intended by our gracious Creator.

Oxen and horses are often seen at work, when thro' heat, and too much labour, their eyes, and the emotions of their bodies, manifest that they are oppressed. Their loads in wagons are frequently so heavy, that when weary with hauling them far, their drivers find occasion in going up hills, or through mire, to raise their spirits by whipping, to get forward.— Many poor people are so thronged in their business, that it is difficult for them to provide shelter suitable for their cattle and other animals, against the storms. These things are common, when in health; but thro' sickness and inability to labour; through loss of creatures, and miscarriage in business, many are so strait-

ened; so much of their increase goes to pay rent or interest, that they have not wherewith to buy what their case requires.

Hence, one poor woman, in attending on her children, providing for her family, and helping the sick; does as much business as would, for the time, be suitable employment for two or three; and honest persons are often straitened, to give their children suitable learning.

The money which the wealthy receive from the poor, who do more than a proper share of business in raising it, is frequently paid to other poor people, for doing business which is foreign to the true use of things.

Men who have large possessions, and live in the spirit of charity;—who carefully inspect the circumstances of those who occupy their estates, and, regardless of the customs of the times, regulate their demands agreeably to universal love: these, by being righteous on principle, do good to the poor, without placing it to an act of bounty. Their example, in avoiding superfluities, tends to incite others to moderation; their goodness, in not exacting what the laws or customs would support them in, tends to open the channel to moderate labour in useful affairs, and to discourage those branches of business which have not their foundation in true wisdom.

To be busied in that which is but vanity, and serves only to please the unstable mind, tends to an alliance with those who promote that vanity, and is a snare in which many poor tradesmen are entangled.

To be employed in things connected with virtue, is most agreeable with the character and inclinations of an honest man.

While industrious, frugal people are borne down with poverty, and oppressed with too much labour in useful things; the way to apply money, without promoting pride and vanity, remains open to such who truly sympathize with them in their various difficulties.

## CHAPTER II.

The Creator of the earth is the owner of it. He gave us being thereon, and our nature requires nourishment, which is the produce of it. As he is kind and merciful to his creatures; while we live answerable to the design of our creation, we are so far entitled to a convenient subsistence, that no man may justly deprive us of it.

By the agreements and contracts of our fathers and predecessors, and by doings and proceedings of our own, some claim a much greater share of this world, than others: and while those possessions are faithfully improved to the good of the whole, it consists with equity. But he who, with a view to self-exaltation, causeth some, with their domestic animals, to labour immoderately; and, with the monies arising to him therefrom, employs others in the luxuries of life,—acts contrary to the gracious designs of Him who is the true owner of the earth; nor can any possessions, either acquired or derived from ancestors, justify such conduct.

Goodness remains to be goodness, and the direction of pure wisdom is obligatory on all reasonable creatures: so that laws and customs are no further a standard for our proceedings, than as their foundation is in universal righteousness.

Though the poor occupy our estates by a bargain, to which they in their poor circumstances agreed; and we ask even less than a punctual fulfilling of their agreement; yet, if our views are to lay up riches, or to live in conformity to customs which have not their foundation in the Truth, and our demands are such as require greater toil, or application to business in them, than is consistent with pure love,—we invade their rights as inhabitants of that world, of which a good and gracious God is proprietor, under whom we are tenants.

Were all superfluities, and the desire of outward greatness laid aside, and the right use of things universally attended to, such a number of people might be employed in things useful, as that moderate labour, with the blessing of heaven, would answer all good purposes relating to people and their animals, and a sufficient number have time to attend on the proper affairs of civil society.

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### CHAPTER III.

While our strength and spirits are lively, we go cheerfully through business. Either too much or too little action is tiresome; but a right portion is healthful to our bodies, and agreeable to an honest mind.

Where men have great estates, they stand in a place of trust. To have it in their power, without difficulty, to live in that fashion which occasions much labour, and at the same time, to confine themselves to that use of things prescribed by the Redeemer, and confirmed by his example, and the examples of many who lived in the early age of the christian church, that they may more extensively relieve objects of charity;—for men who have great estates, to live thus, requires close attention to *Divine love*.

Our gracious Creator cares and provides for all his creatures: his tender mercies are over all his works. And so far as his love influences our minds, so far we become interested in his workmanship; and feel a desire to make use of every opportunity to lessen the distresses of the afflicted, and increase the happiness of the creation. Here we have a prospect of one common interest from which our own is inseparable; so that to turn all the treasures we possess into the channel of universal love, becomes the business of our lives.

Men of large estates, whose hearts are thus enlarged, are like fathers to the poor; and in looking



over their brethren in distressed circumstances, and considering their own more easy condition, they find a field for humble meditation, and feel the strength of those obligations they are under, to be kind and tender-hearted toward them. Poor men eased of their burdens, and released from too close an application to business, are enabled to hire assistance, to provide well for their animals, and find time to perform those duties amongst their neighbours, which belong to a well guided social life.

When these reflect on the opportunity those had to oppress them, and consider the goodness of their conduct, they behold it lovely, and consistent with brotherhood. And, as the man whose mind is conformed to universal love, hath his trust settled in God, and finds a firm foundation to stand upon, in any changes or revolutions that happen amongst men; so also, the goodness of his conduct tends to spread a kind, benevolent disposition in the world.

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#### CHAPTER IV.

Our blessed Redeemer, in directing us how to conduct ourselves one towards another, appeals to our own feelings: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." Now where some who have never had experience of hard labour themselves, live in fulness on the labour of others; there is often a danger of their not having a right feeling of the labourer's condition; and therefore of being disqualified to judge candidly in their case; not knowing what they themselves would desire, were they to labour hard from one year to another, to raise the necessaries of life, and to pay high rents besides. It is good for those who live in fulness, to labour for tenderness of heart, and to improve every opportunity of being acquainted with the hardships and fatigues of those who labour for their living, and think seriously

with themselves, Am I influenced by true charity in fixing all my demands? Have I no desire to support myself in expensive customs, because my acquaintances live in those customs? Were I to labour as they do, toward supporting them and their children in a station like mine, in such sort as they and their children labour for us,—could I not on such a change, before I entered into agreements of rent or interest, name some costly articles now used by me, or in my family, which have no real use in them, the expense whereof might be lessened? and should I not, in such case, strongly desire the disuse of those needless articles, that, less answering their way of life, the terms might be easier to me?

If a wealthy man, on serious reflection, finds a witness in his own conscience, that there are some expenses which he indulgeth himself in, that are in conformity to customs which might be omitted, consistent with the true design of living; and which, was he to change places with those who occupy his estate, he would desire to be discontinued by them; whoever are thus awakened to their feelings, will necessarily find the injunction binding on them: “Do thou even so to them.”

Divine love imposeth no rigorous or unreasonable commands; but graciously points out the spirit of brotherhood and the way to happiness, in attaining to which, it is necessary that we go forth out of all that is selfish.

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#### CHAPTER V.

To pass through a series of hardships, and to languish under oppression, brings people to a certain knowledge of these things. To enforce the duty of tenderness to the poor, the inspired law-giver referred the children of Israel to their own past experience; “Ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were

strangers in the land of Egypt." He who hath been a stranger amongst unkind people, or under their government who were hard-hearted, knows how it feels: but a person who hath never felt the weight of misapplied power, comes not to this knowledge, but by an inward tenderness, in which the heart is prepared to sympathize with others.

We may reflect on the condition of a poor innocent man, who, by his labour, contributes towards supporting one of his own species, more wealthy than himself;—on whom the rich man, from a desire after wealth and luxuries, lays heavy burdens. When this labourer looks over the cause of his heavy load, and considers that this great toil and fatigue is laid on him to support that which hath no foundation in pure wisdom, we may well suppose, that there ariseth an uneasiness in his mind towards those who might, without any inconvenience, deal more favourably with him. When he considers that by his industry his fellow-creature is benefited, and sees that this man who hath much wealth, is not satisfied with being supported in a plain way; but, to gratify a wrong desire, and conform to wrong customs, increaseth to an extreme the labours of those who occupy his estate; we may reasonably judge, that he will think himself unkindly used. When he considers that the proceedings of the wealthy are agreeable to the customs of the times, and sees no means of redress in this world; how would the sighings of this innocent person ascend to the throne of that great, good Being, who created us all, and hath a constant care over his creatures!

By candidly considering these things, we may have some sense of the condition of innocent people, overloaded by the wealthy. But he who toils, one year after another, to furnish others with wealth and superfluities; who labours and thinks, and thinks and labours; until, by overmuch labour, he is wearied and oppressed: such an one understands the meaning of that language; "Ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt."

As many at this day, who know not the heart of a stranger, indulge themselves in ways of life which occasion more labour than infinite Goodness intends for man, and yet are compassionate toward such in distress as come directly under their observation; were these to change circumstances awhile, with some who labour for them;—were they to pass regularly through the means of knowing the heart of a stranger, and come to a feeling knowledge of the straits and hardships which many poor innocent people pass through, in a hidden obscure life;—were these who now fare sumptuously every day, to act the other part of the scene, until seven times had passed over them, and return again to their former estates;—I believe many of them would embrace a way of life less expensive, and lighten the heavy burdens of some who now labour out of their sight to support them, and pass through straits with which they are but little acquainted.

To see our fellow-creatures under difficulties, to which we are in no degree accessory, tends to awaken tenderness in the minds of all reasonable people; but if we consider the condition of those who are depressed in answering our demands, who labour out of our sight, and are often toiling for us while we pass our time in fulness;—if we consider that much less than we demand would supply us with all things really needful; what heart will not relent! or what reasonable man can refrain from mitigating that grief, which he himself is the cause of, when he may do it without inconvenience!

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#### CHAPTER VI.

People, much spent with much labour, often take strong liquor to revive them. The portion of the necessaries of life, answerable to a day's work, is such, that those who support their families by day la-

bour, find occasion to labour hard, and many of them think strong drink a necessary part of their entertainment.

Were there more men usefully employed, and fewer who eat bread as a reward for doing that which is not useful, then food and raiment would, on a reasonable estimate, be more in proportion to labour, than what it is at present; for, if four men working eight hours in the day, can do any portion of labour, in a certain number of days; then five men, equally capable, may do the same business, in the same time, and work only six hours and twenty-four minutes in the day. In proceeding agreeably to sound wisdom, a small portion of daily labour might suffice, to keep a proper stream gently circulating through all the channels of society; and this portion of labour might be so divided, and taken in the most advantageous parts of the day, that people would not have that plea for the use of strong liquors, which they have at present.—The quantity of spirituous liquors imported and made in our country, is great; nor can so many thousand hogsheads of this liquor be drunk every year in our country, without having a powerful effect on our manners.

When people are spent with action, and take these liquors, not only as a refreshment from past labours, but also to support them to go on, without nature having a sufficient time to recruit, by resting; it gradually turns them from that calmness of thought, which attends those who steadily apply their hearts to true wisdom. That the animal spirits, being exhausted by too much bodily motion, and again revived by strong drink, makes a person unfit for serious thinking and divine meditation,—I suppose will not be denied: and as multitudes of people are in this practice, who do not take so much as to hinder them from managing their outward affairs, this custom is strongly supported. But as, through Divine goodness, I have found that there is a more quiet, calm,

and happy way, intended for us to walk in, I am engaged to express what I feel in my heart concerning it.

As cherishing the spirit of love and meekness, belongs to the family of Jesus Christ, and is our duty; so, to avoid those things which we know work against it, is an indispensable duty, also. Every degree of luxury, of what kind soever,—and every demand for money inconsistent with Divine order, hath some connexion with unnecessary labour. By too much labour the spirits are exhausted; and people crave help from strong drink; and the frequent use of strong drink, works in opposition to the celestial influence of the holy spirit on the mind.

This is plain, when men take so much as to suspend the use of their reason: and though there are degrees of this opposition, and a man quite drunk may be furthest removed from that frame of mind in which God is acceptably worshipped; yet a person being often nearly spent with too much action, and revived by spirituous liquors, without being quite drunk,—inures himself to that which is a less degree of the same thing; and which, by long continuance thereof, must necessarily hurt both mind and body. There is in the nature of people, some degree of likeness with that food and air, to which they, from their youth, have been accustomed. This frequently appears in such who, by a separation from their native air and usual diet, grow weak and unhealthy for want of them. Nor is it reasonable to suppose, that so many thousand hogsheads of this fiery liquor can be drunk by us every year, and the practice continued from age to age, without altering, in some degree, the natures of men, and rendering their minds less apt to receive the pure Truth in the love of it.

As many, who manifest some regard to piety, do yet, in degree, conform to those ways of living, and of collecting wealth, which increase labour beyond the bounds fixed by Divine wisdom; my desire is, that they may so consider the connexion of things, as to take heed, lest by exacting of poor men more than

is consistent with universal righteousness, they promote that by their conduct, which in words they speak against.

To treasure up wealth for another generation, by means of the immoderate labour of those who in some measure depend upon us,—is doing evil at present, without knowing but that our wealth, thus gathered, may be applied to evil purposes when we are gone. To labour too hard, or cause others to do so, that we may live conformably to customs which Jesus Christ, the Redeemer, contradicted by his example in the days of his flesh, and which are contrary to Divine order,—is to manure a soil for propagating an evil seed in the earth.

They who enter deep into these considerations, and live under the weight of them, will feel these things so heavy, and their ill effects so extensive, that the necessity of attending singly to Divine wisdom, will be evident; thereby to be directed in the right use of things, in opposition to the customs of the times,—and supported to bear patiently the reproaches attending singularity

To conform a little to a wrong way, strengthens the hands of those who carry wrong customs to their utmost extent; and the more a person appears to be virtuous and heavenly-minded, the more powerfully does his conformity operate in favour of evil doers. Lay aside the profession of a pious life, and people expect little or no instruction from the example; but while we profess, in all cases, to live in constant opposition to that which is contrary to universal righteousness,—what expressions are equal to the subject? or what language is sufficient to set forth the strength of those obligations we are under, to beware, lest, by our example, we lead others wrong?

## CHAPTER VII.

In our care for our children, should we give way to partiality in things relating to what may be when we are gone; yet after death, we cannot look on partiality with pleasure.

If, by our wealth we make them great, without a full persuasion that we could not bestow it better, and thus give them power to deal hardly with others more virtuous than they; it can, after death, give us no more satisfaction, than if by this treasure we had raised these others above our own, and given them power to oppress them.

Did a man possess as much good land as would well suffice for twenty industrious, frugal people, and supposing that he was lawful heir to it, intended to give this great estate to his children; but found, on research into the title, that one half of this estate was the undoubted property of a number of poor orphans, who, as to virtue and understanding, to him appeared as hopeful as his own children: this discovery would give him an opportunity to consider whether he was attached to any interest, distinct from the interest of those orphans.

Some of us have estates sufficient for our children, and as many more, to live upon, did they all employ their time in useful business, and live in that plainness consistent with the character of true disciples of Christ: and we have no reason to believe, that our children after us will apply them to benevolent purposes, more than some poor children whom we are acquainted with, would, if they had them; and yet, did we believe that after our decease, these estates would go equally among our children, and an equal number of those poor children, it would be likely to give us uneasiness.

This may show to a thoughtful person, that to be redeemed from all the remains of selfishness,—to have an universal regard to our fellow-creatures, and love



them as our heavenly Father loves them,—we must constantly attend to the influence of his spirit.

When our hearts are enlarged to contemplate the nature of this Divine love, we behold it harmonious: but if we attentively consider that moving of selfishness, which would make us uneasy at the apprehension of that which is in itself reasonable; and which, being separated from all previous conceptions and expectations, will appear so,—we may see an inconsistency in it: for the subject of such uneasiness is in future, and would not affect our children, until we are removed into that state of being, where there is no possibility of our taking delight in any thing contrary to the pure principle of universal love.

As that natural desire of superiority in us, being given way to, extends to such of our favourites who we expect will succeed us; and, as the grasping after wealth and power for them, adds greatly to the burdens of the poor, and increaseth the evil of covetousness in this age; I have often desired in secret, that, in looking toward posterity, we may remember the purity of that rest which is prepared for the Lord's people;—the impossibility of our taking pleasure in any thing distinguishable from universal righteousness;—and how vain and weak a thing it is to give wealth and power to those who appear unlikely to apply it to a general good when we are gone.

As christians, all we possess are the gifts of God to us: now in distributing it to others, we act as his stewards; and it becomes our station, to act agreeably to that Divine wisdom which he graciously gives to his servants.

If the steward of a great family, from a selfish attachment to particulars, takes that with which he is entrusted, and bestows it lavishly on some, to the injury of others, and to the damage of him who employs him, he degrades himself, and becomes unworthy of that office.

The true felicity of man in this life, and that which is to come, is in being inwardly united to the foun-

tain of universal love and bliss. When we provide for posterity, and make settlements which will not take effect until after we are centred in another state of being: if we therein, knowingly act contrary to universal love and righteousness, such conduct must arise from a false, selfish pleasure: and if we, after such settlement, and when too late for an alteration, attain to that purified state which Jesus Christ prayed his Father that the people might attain to, of being united to the Father, and to the Son; must not a sincere repentance for all things done in a will separate from universal love, precede this inward sanctification? And though, in such depth of repentance and reconciliation, all sins are forgiven,—can we reasonably suppose, that our partial determinations in favour of those whom we loved in a selfish love, will then afford us pleasure? And if, after such selfish settlements, our wills continue to stand in opposition to the fountain of universal light and love,—will there not be an unpassable gulf between the soul and true felicity?

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#### CHAPTER VIII.

To labour for an establishment in Divine love, where the mind is disentangled from the power of darkness, is the great business of man's life. The collecting of riches, covering the body with fine wrought, costly apparel, and having magnificent furniture,—operate against universal love, and tend to feed self; so that it belongs not to the children of the light to desire these things.

He who sent ravens to feed Elijah in the wilderness, and increased the poor widow's small remains of meal and oil, is now as attentive to the necessities of his people as ever.

When he saith unto his people, "Ye are my sons and daughters;" no greater happiness can be desired by them who know how gracious a Father he is.

The greater part of the necessaries of life, are so far perishable, that each generation hath occasion to labour for them. And when we look toward a succeeding age, with a mind influenced by universal love, instead of endeavouring to exempt some from those cares which necessarily relate to this life, and give them power to oppress others,—we desire that they may all be the Lord's children, and live in that humility and order becoming his family: our hearts being thus opened and enlarged, we feel content in a use of things, as foreign to luxury and grandeur as that which the Redeemer laid down as a pattern.

By desiring wealth for the power and distinction it gives, and gathering it on this motive, a person may become rich: but his mind, herein, being moved by a draught distinguishable from the drawings of the Father, he cannot be united to the heavenly society where God is the strength of their life, before he is delivered from this contrary drawing.

“It is easier,” saith our blessed Lord, “for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.” Here, he uses an instructive similitude; for, as a camel, while in that form, cannot pass through the eye of a needle; so, a man who trusteth in riches, and holds them for the sake of the power and distinction attending them, cannot, in that spirit, enter into the kingdom. Now, every part of a camel may be so reduced, as to pass through a hole as small as the eye of a needle; yet, such is the bulk of the creature, and the hardness of its bones and teeth, that it could not be completed without much labour: so man must cease from that spirit which craves riches, and be reduced into another disposition, before he inherits the kingdom, as effectually as a camel must be changed from the form of a camel, in passing through the eye of a needle.

When our blessed Lord said to the rich youth, “Go sell that thou hast, and give to the poor;” though undoubtedly it was his duty to do so; yet, to enjoin this

of selling all as a duty on every true christian, would be to limit the Holy One.

Obedient children who are intrusted with much outward substance, wait for wisdom to dispose of it agreeably to His will, "in whom the fatherless find mercy." It may not be the duty of every one to commit, at once, their substance to other hands; but rather, from time to time, to look round amongst the numerous branches of the great family, as the stewards of him who provides for the widows and the fatherless; and as disciples of Christ, however intrusted with much goods, they may not conform to sumptuous or luxurious living. For, as he lived in perfect plainness and simplicity, the greatest in his family cannot, by virtue of his station, claim a right to live in worldly grandeur, without contradicting his doctrine, who said, "It is enough for the disciple to be as his master."

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#### CHAPTER IX.

When our eyes are so single as to discern the selfish spirit clearly, we behold it the greatest of all tyrants. Many thousand innocent people, under some of the Roman emperors, being confirmed in the truth of Christ's religion, from the powerful effects of his holy spirit upon them, and scrupling to conform to heathenish rites, were therefore, by various kinds of cruel and lingering torments, put to death; as is largely set forth by Eusebius.

Now, if we single out Domitian, Nero, or any other of the persecuting emperors, the man, though terrible in his time, will appear as a tyrant of small consequence, compared with this selfish spirit: for, though his bounds were large, yet a great part of the world was out of his reach; and though he grievously afflicted the bodies of those innocent people, yet the minds of many were divinely supported in their greatest

agonies; and being faithful unto death, they were delivered from his tyranny.

His reign, though cruel for a time, was soon over; and he, considered in his greatest pomp, appears to have been a slave to the selfish spirit. Thus tyranny, as applied to a man, rises up and soon has an end.—But if we consider the numerous oppressions in many states, and the calamities occasioned by nation contending with nation, in various parts and ages of the world, and remember that selfishness hath been the original cause of them all;—if we consider that those who are unredeemed from this selfish spirit, not only afflict others, but are afflicted themselves, and have no real quietness in this life, nor in futurity; but, according to the saying of Christ, have their portion in that painful condition, “where the worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched:”—If we consider the havock that is made in this age, and how numbers of the people are hurried on, striving to collect treasures to please that mind which wanders from perfect resignation; and, in that wisdom which is foolishness with God, are perverting the true use of things, labouring as in the fire, contending with one another, even unto blood, and exerting their power to support ways of living, foreign to the life of one wholly crucified to the world:—

If we consider what great numbers of people are employed in preparing the articles of war, and the labour and toil of armies, set apart for protecting their respective territories from the incursions of others,—and the extensive miseries which attend their engagements:—while they who till the land, and are employed in other useful things in supporting themselves, supporting those employed in military affairs, and also those who own the soil, have great hardships to encounter, through too much labour; while others, in several kingdoms, are busied in fetching men to help to labour, from distant parts of the world, to spend the remainder of their lives in the uncomfortable condition of slaves;—and that self is at the bottom

of these proceedings:—Amidst all this confusion, and these scenes of sorrow and distress, can we remember the Prince of peace,—remember that we are his disciples, and remember that example of humility and plainness which he set for us, without feeling an earnest desire to be disentangled from every thing connected with selfish customs, in food, in raiment, in houses, and all things else? So that, being of Christ's family, and walking as he walked, we may stand in that uprightness wherein man was first made, and have no fellowship with those inventions which men in their fallen wisdom have sought out.

In the selfish spirit standeth idolatry. Did the blessed Redeemer enable his family to endure great reproaches, and suffer cruel torments, even unto death, for their testimony against the idolatry of those times? And can we behold the prevalence of idolatry, though under a different appearance, without being jealous over ourselves, lest we unwarily join in it?

Those faithful martyrs refused to cast incense into the fire, though by doing it, they might have escaped a cruel death. Casting sweet-scented matter into the fire to make a comfortable smell, considered separate from all circumstances, would appear to be of small consequence: but as they would thereby have signified their approbation of idolatry, it was necessarily refused by the faithful. Nor can we, in any degree, depart from pure universal righteousness, and publicly continue in that which is not agreeable to the Truth, without strengthening the hands of the unrighteous, and doing that which, in the nature of the thing, is like offering incense to an idol.

It is reported of Origen, a primitive christian, that in a time of unwatchfulness, being under great difficulty, he took incense into his hand; and a certain heathen, to forward the work, took hold of his hand and cast the incense into the fire on the altar: and that through thus far complying, he was released from his outward trouble: but afterward he greatly bewailed his condition, as one fallen from a good estate to that which was worse.

Thus, it appears that a small degree of deliberate compliance with that which is wrong, is very dangerous; and the case of Origen carries in it an admonition worthy of our notice.

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CHAPTER X.

The way of carrying on wars, common in the world, is so far distinguishable from the purity of Christ's religion, that many scruple to join in them. Those who are so redeemed from the love of the world, as to possess nothing in a selfish spirit, their "life is hid with Christ in God;" and these he preserves in resignedness, even in times of commotion.

As they possess nothing but what pertains to his family, anxious thoughts about wealth or dominion have little or nothing in them to work upon; and they learn contentment in being disposed of according to his will, who being omnipotent, and always mindful of his children, causeth all things to work for their good. But where that spirit works which loves riches, and, in its working, gathers wealth, and cleaves to customs which have their root in self-pleasing;—this spirit, thus separating from universal love, seeks help from that power which stands in the separation, and whatever name it hath, it still desires to defend the treasures thus gotten:—This is like a chain, where the end of one link encloses the end of another. The rising up of a desire to obtain wealth, is the beginning; this desire being cherished, moves to action; and riches thus gotten, please self; and while self has a life in them, it desires to have them defended.

Wealth is attended with power, by which bargains and proceedings, contrary to universal righteousness, are supported: and here oppression, carried on with worldly policy and order, clothes itself with the name of justice, and becomes like a seed of discord in the soul. And as this spirit which wanders from the pure

habitation, prevails; so the seeds of war swell and sprout, and grow, and become strong, until much fruit is ripened. Thus cometh the harvest spoken of by the prophet, which "is a heap, in the day of grief and desperate sorrows."

Oh! that we who declare against wars, and acknowledge our trust to be in God only, may walk in the light, and therein examine our foundation and motives in holding great estates! May we look upon our treasures, and the furniture of our houses, and the garments in which we array ourselves, and try whether the seeds of war have any nourishment in these our possessions, or not. Holding treasures in the self-pleasing spirit is a strong plant, the fruit whereof ripens fast.

A day of outward distress is coming, and Divine love calls to prepare against it. Hearken then, O ye children who have known the light, and come forth. Leave every thing which Jesus Christ does not own. Think not his pattern too plain, or too coarse for you. Think not a small portion in this life too little. But let us live in his spirit, and walk as he walked: so shall we be preserved in the greatest troubles.

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#### CHAPTER XI.

"The heaven, even the heavens are the Lord's; but the earth hath he given to the children of men."

As servants of God, what lands or estates we hold, we hold under him as his gifts; and in applying the profits, it is our duty to act consistently with the designs of our benefactor. Imperfect men may give, on motives of misguided affection; but perfect wisdom and goodness gives agreeable to his own nature; nor is this gift absolute, but conditional, for us to occupy as dutiful children, and not otherwise; for he alone is the true proprietor. "The world," saith he, "is mine, and the fulness thereof."



The inspired law-giver directed that such of the Israelites as sold their inheritance, should sell it for a term only; and that they or their children should again enjoy it in the year of jubilee, settled on every fiftieth year. "The land shall not be sold for ever; for the land is mine, saith the Lord: for ye are strangers, and sojourners with me." The design of which was, to prevent the rich from oppressing the poor, by too much engrossing the land. And our blessed Lord said, "Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law till all be fulfilled."

Where Divine love takes place in the hearts of any people, and they steadily act on a principle of universal righteousness, there the true intent of the law is fulfilled, though their outward modes of proceeding may be distinguishable from one another: but where men are possessed by that spirit, hinted at by the prophet, and looking over their wealth, say in their hearts, "Have we not taken to us horns by our own strength?" Here, they deviate from the Divine law, and do not count their possessions so strictly God's, nor the weak and poor entitled to so much of the increase thereof, but that they may indulge their desires in conforming to worldly pomp. Thus, where house is joined to house, and field laid to field, until there is no place, and the poor are thereby straitened; though this is done by bargain and purchase, yet so far as it stands distinguished from universal love, so far that woe, prefixed by the prophet, will accompany their proceedings.

As he who first formed the earth out of nothing, was then the true proprietor of it, so he still remains; and though he hath given it to the children of men, so that multitudes of people have had sustenance from it, while they continued here,—yet he hath never aliened it, but his right to give is as good as at the first. Nor can any apply the increase of their possessions contrary to universal love, nor dispose of

lands in a way which they know tends to exalt some, by oppressing others, without being justly chargeable with usurpation.

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CHAPTER XII.

If we count back one hundred and fifty years, and compare the inhabitants of Great Britain with the natives of North America on the like compass of ground, the latter, I suppose, would bear a small proportion to the other. On the discovery of this fertile continent, many of those thick settled inhabitants coming over, the natives generally treated them with kindness, at first; and as those brought iron tools, and a variety of things convenient for man's use, they gladly embraced the opportunity of traffic, and encouraged those foreigners to settle. I speak only of improvements made peaceably.

Thus, our gracious Father, who at the same time beholds the situation of all his creatures, hath opened a way to come from a thick settled land, and given us some room in this. Now if we attentively consider the turning of God's hand, in thus far giving us room on this continent, and that the offspring of those ancient possessors of the country, in whose eyes we appear as new-comers, are yet owners and inhabitors of the land adjoining us; and that their way of life, requiring much room, hath been transmitted to them from their predecessors, and probably settled by the custom of a great many ages:—under these considerations, we may see the necessity of cultivating the lands already obtained of them, and of applying the increase consistent with true wisdom, so as to accommodate the greatest number of people it is capable of, before we have any right to plead, as members of the one great family, the equity of their assigning to us more of their possessions, and living in a way requiring less room.

Did we all walk as became the followers of the blessed Saviour;—were all the fruits of the country retained in it, which are sent abroad in return for such strong drink, such costly array, and other luxuries, which we should then have no use for; and the labour and expense of importing and exporting applied to husbandry and useful trades, a much greater number of people than now reside here, might, with the Divine blessing, live comfortably on the lands already granted us by those ancient possessors of the country.

If we faithfully serve God, who has given us some room in this land, I believe he will make some of us useful amongst them, both in publishing the doctrines of his Son, Jesus Christ, and in pointing out to them the advantages of cultivating the soil.

Some, I suppose, will be careful for such poor people abroad, who earn their bread by preparing and trading in those things, which we as true disciples, living in plainness, like our heavenly pattern, should have no use for. But laying aside all superfluities and luxuries, while people are so much thicker settled in some parts than in others, a trade in some serviceable articles may be to mutual advantage, and carried on with much more regularity and satisfaction to a sincere christian, than the trade now generally is.

One person continuing to live contrary to true wisdom, commonly draws others into connexion with him; and where these embrace the way this first hath chosen, their proceedings are like a wild vine, which, springing from a single seed, and growing strong, its branches extend, and their little twining holders twist round all herbs and boughs of trees where they reach; and are so braced and locked in, that, without much labour and great strength, they are not disentangled.

Thus, these customs, small in their beginning, as they increase, promote business and traffic, and many depend on them for a living. But it is evident, that all business which hath not its foundation in true wis-

dom, is unbecoming a faithful follower of Christ, who loves God, not only with all his heart, but with all his strength and ability to labour and act in this world. And as the Lord is able, and will support those whose hearts are perfect towards him, in a way agreeable to his unerring wisdom, it becomes us to meditate on the privileges of his children; to remember, that where the spirit of the Lord is there is liberty; and that in joining with customs which we know are wrong, there is a departing from the purity of his government, and a certain degree of alienation from him.

To lay aside curious and costly attire, and use that only which is plain and serviceable; to cease from all superfluities, and too much strong drink, is agreeable to the directions of our blessed Lord; and if, in the integrity of our hearts, we do so, we in some degree contribute towards lessening that business which hath its foundation in a wrong spirit: and, as some well inclined people are entangled in such business, and at times have a desire of being freed from it; our ceasing from these things may be made helpful to them: and though for a time, their business may fail, yet, if they humbly ask wisdom of God, and are truly resigned to him, he will not fail them, nor forsake them.

He who created the earth, and hath provided sustenance for millions of people in past ages, is now as attentive to the necessities of his children as ever. — To press forward toward perfection is our duty: and if herein we lessen some business, by which some poor people earn their bread, the Lord, who calls to cease from these things, will take care of those whose business fails by it, if they sincerely seek to him.

If the connexions we have with the inhabitants of these provinces, and our interest considered as distinct from others, engage us to promote plain living, in order to enrich our country: though a plain life is in itself best; yet by living plain in a selfish spirit, we advance not forward in true religion.

Divine love, which enlarges the heart toward mankind universally, is that alone which can rightly stop every corrupt stream, and open those channels of business and commerce, where nothing runs that is not pure; and so establish our goings, that when, in our labours, we meditate on the universal love of God, and the harmony of holy angels, the serenity of our minds may never be clouded, in remembering that some part of our employments tends to support customs which have their foundation in the self-seeking spirit.

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CHAPTER XIII.

While our minds are prepossessed in favour of customs, distinguishable from perfect purity, we are in danger of not attending with singleness to that light which opens to our view the nature of universal righteousness.

In the affairs of a thick settled country, are variety of useful employments, besides tilling the earth: so that, for some men to have no more land than is necessary to build upon, and to answer the occasions relative to their families, may consist with brotherhood: and from the various gifts which God hath bestowed on those employed in husbandry, for some to possess, and occupy much more than others, may likewise. But where any on the strength of their possessions, demand such rent or interest, as necessitates those who hire of them, to a closer application to business than our merciful Father designed for us; this puts the wheels of perfect brotherhood out of order, and leads to employments, the promoting of which belongs not to the family of Christ. As his example in all parts, was a pattern of wisdom; so the plainness and simplicity of his outward appearance, may well make us ashamed to adorn our bodies

with costly array, or treasure up wealth by the least oppression.

The soil yields us support, and is profitable for man; and though some possessing a larger share of these profits than others, may consist with the harmony of true brotherhood; yet, that the poorest people who are honest, are, so long as they remain inhabitants of the earth, entitled to a certain portion of these profits, in as clear and as absolute a sense as those who inherit much, I believe will be agreed to by those whose hearts are enlarged with universal love.

The first people who inhabited the earth, were the first who had possession of the soil: the gracious Creator and owner of it, gave the fruits thereof for their use. And, as one generation passed away, another came and took possession: and thus through many ages, innumerable multitudes of people have been supplied by the fruits of the earth; but our gracious Creator is as absolutely the owner of it, as he was when he first formed it out of nothing, before man had possession of it. And tho' by claims grounded on prior possession, great inequality appears amongst men; yet the instructions of the great proprietor of the earth, are necessary to be attended to in all our proceedings, as possessors or claimers of the soil.—“The steps of a good man are ordered of the Lord;” and those who are thus guided, whose hearts are enlarged in his love, give directions concerning their possessions agreeably thereto; and that claim, which stands on universal righteousness, is a good right; but the continuance of that right, depends on properly applying the profits thereof.

The word *right*, is commonly used relative to our possessions. We say, a *right* of propriety to such a dividend of a province; or a clear indisputable *right* to the land within such certain bounds. Thus, this word is continued as a remembrancer of the original intent of dividing the land by boundaries, and implies, that it was designed to be equitably or rightly

divided,—to be divided according to righteousness. In this, that is, in equity and righteousness, consists the strength of our claims. If we trace an unrighteous claim, and find gifts or grants proved by sufficient seals and witnesses; this gives not the claimant a *right*: for that which is opposite to righteousness, is wrong, and the nature of it must be changed before it can be *right*.

Suppose twenty free men, professed followers of Christ, discovered an island unknown to all other people, and that they with their wives, independent of all others, took possession of it; and, dividing it equally, made improvements, and multiplied. Suppose these first possessors, being generally influenced by true love, did, with paternal regard look over the increasing condition of the inhabitants, and near the end of their lives, gave such directions concerning their respective possessions, as best suited the convenience of the whole, and tended to preserve love and harmony; and that their successors in the continued increase of people, generally followed their pious examples, and pursued means the most effectual to keep oppression out of their island:—but that one of these first settlers, from a fond attachment to one of his numerous sons, no more deserving than the rest, gives the chief of his lands to him; and by an instrument sufficiently witnessed, strongly expresses his mind and will.

Suppose this son, being landlord to his brethren and nephews, demands such a portion of the fruits of the earth, as may supply him and his family and some others; and that these others, thus supplied out of his store, are employed in adorning his building with curious engravings and paintings, preparing carriages to ride in, vessels for his house, delicious meats, fine-wrought apparel and furniture, all suiting that distinction lately arisen between him and the other inhabitants: and that, having the absolute disposal of these numerous improvements, his power so increas-

eth, that in all conferences relative to the public affairs of the island, these plain, honest men who are zealous for equitable establishments, find great difficulty in proceeding agreeably to their righteous inclinations, while he stands in opposition to them.

Suppose he, from a fondness for one of his sons, joined with a desire to continue this grandeur under his own name, confirms chief of his possessions to him; and thus, for many ages, over near a twentieth part of this island, there is one great landlord, and the rest, poor oppressed people; to some of whom, from the manner of their education, joined with a notion of the greatness of their predecessors, labour is disagreeable; who therefore, by artful applications to the weakness, unguardedness, and corruptions of others, in striving to get a living out of them, increase the difficulties amongst them; while the inhabitants of other parts, who guard against oppression, and, with one consent, train up their children in frugality and useful labour, live more harmoniously.

If we trace the claim of the ninth or tenth of these great landlords, down to the first possessor, and find the claim supported throughout by instruments strongly drawn and witnessed; after all, we could not admit a belief into our hearts, that he had a *right* to so great a portion of land, after such a numerous increase of inhabitants.

The first possessor of that twentieth part, held no more, we suppose, than an equitable portion; but when the Lord, who first gave these twenty men possession of this island, unknown to all others, gave being to numerous people, who inhabited this twentieth part, whose natures required the fruits thereof for their sustenance,—this great claimer of the soil could not have a *right* to the whole, to dispose of it in gratifying his irregular desires: but they, as creatures of the Most High God, possessor of heaven and earth, had a *right* to part of what this great claimer held, though they had no instruments to confirm their *right*.



Thus, oppression in the extreme, appears terrible: but oppression, in more refined appearances, remains to be oppression; and where the smallest degree of it is cherished, it grows stronger and more extensive: that to labour for a perfect redemption from this spirit of oppression, is the great business of the whole family of Christ Jesus, in this world.

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CHAPTER XIV.

*On Schools.*

When we are thoroughly instructed in the kingdom of God, we are content with that use of things which his wisdom points out, both for ourselves and our children. We are not concerned to teach them the art of getting rich; but are careful that the love of God, and a right regard for all their fellow-creatures may possess their minds;—and that, in all their learning, their improvements may go forward in pure wisdom.

Christ, our shepherd, being abundantly able and willing to instruct his family in all things proper for them to know, it remains to be our duty to wait patiently for his help in teaching our families;—and not seek to forward them in learning by the assistance of that spirit, from which he has given his life to redeem us.

It was his own saying that “the children of this world are, in their generation, wiser than the children of Light.” And it appears by experience, that in awakening and cherishing the spirit of pride, and the love of praise in children, they may sometimes be brought on in learning, faster than they would otherwise. But while, in learning any art or science, they accustom themselves to disobey the pure Spirit, and grow strong in that wisdom which is foolishness with God, they must have the painful labour of unlearning

a part of what they thus learned, before they are adopted into the Divine family. It is, therefore, good for us, in schools and in all parts of education, to attend diligently to the *principle of universal Light*; and patiently wait for the improvement of children, in the channel of true wisdom, without endeavouring to get help from that spirit which seeks honour from men.

Children at an age fit for schools, are in a time of life that requires the careful and patient attendance of their tutors, and such a diligent observation of their several tempers and dispositions, as that they may be enabled rightly and seasonably to administer to each individual.

Were we thoroughly weaned from the love of wealth, and fully brought out of all superfluities in living;—employments about vanities being finished, and labour wanted only for things consistent with a humble, self-denying life, there would, on a reasonable estimate, be so much to spare on the education of our children,—that a plain, humble man, with a family like himself, might be furnished with a living, for teaching and overseeing so small a number of children, that he might properly and seasonably administer to each individual, and gently lead them on, as the gospel spirit opened the way, without giving countenance to pride or evil inclinations among them.

The management of children being sometimes committed to men who do not live under the seasoning virtue of Truth, is a case that requires our serious consideration; for it is our indispensable duty to use our utmost endeavours in their education to bring them into an acquaintance with the inward work of grace. And where tutors are not experienced in this work, their spirit and conduct, in directing and ordering the children, does often make impressions on their tender inexperienced minds, to their great disadvantage.

Again, where pious men enter into the employ, they sometimes find it difficult to support their families,

without taking charge of so great a number, that they cannot so fully attend to the spirit and disposition of each individual, as would be profitable to the children. A large number of children in a school, is often a heavy weight on the mind of an honest tutor; and when his thoughts and time are so much taken up in the more outward affairs of the school, that he cannot so attend to the spirit and temper of each individual, as to administer rightly and seasonably, in the line of true judgment;—there the minds of children often suffer, and a wrong spirit gains strength; which frequently increases difficulties in a school, and, like an infection, spreads from one to another.

A man influenced by the spirit of Truth, employing his time in tutoring children,—while he hath only such a number that the manifestation of Divine strength in him, is superior to the instability in them; this good spirit in which he governs, does measurably work on their minds, and tends to bring them forward in the christian life. But where the straitness of a man's circumstances, joined with the small wages set on teaching children, proves a temptation and so enters into his heart, that he takes charge of too many for the measure of his gift;—or where the desire for wealth so corrupts the heart of any, that they take charge of too many: here the true order of a christian education is frustrated.

To watch the spirit of children in school, and labour to bring them on as lambs in the flock of Christ, is of greater moment than their improvement in the knowledge of letters. But where a man hath charge of a number too great for that degree of strength, with which the Lord hath endued him, he not only suffers as to the state of his own mind, but the children suffer also: and government not being supported in the true christian spirit, the pure witness is not reached in the minds of the children.

To educate children in the way of true piety and virtue, is a duty incumbent on all who have them; and our heavenly Father requires no duties of us, but

what he gives strength to perform, as we humbly seek to him. That though to the eye of reason the difficulties appear great, in many places, which attend instructing our children in useful learning, yet if we obediently attend to that wisdom which is from above, our gracious Father will open a way for us to give them such an education as he requires of us.

And here I may say, that my mind hath been sorrowfully affected on account of some, who, from a desire for wealth,—a desire to conform in living to those ways distinguishable from the true christian spirit,—exert themselves in things relating to this life, and do not enough lay to heart the condition of youth, who, in many places, suffer through want of pious examples, and tutors whose minds are seasoned with the spirit of Truth.

Are great labours performed to gain wealth for posterity? Are many supported with wages to furnish us with delicacies, and luxuries?

Are monies expended for colours to please the eye, which render our garments less serviceable?

Are garments of a curious texture purchased at a high rate, for the sake of their delicacy?

Are there various branches of workmanship only ornamental, in the building of our houses, hanging by our walls and partitions,—and to be seen in our furniture and apparel?

And amidst all these expenses, which the pure Truth does not require of us,—do we send our children to men to get learning, who, we believe, are not influenced by the spirit of Truth,—rather than humbly wait on the Lord for wisdom to direct us in their education?

To commit children to the tuition of men, who, we believe, are not rightly qualified to lead them on in the true christian life, I believe no pious man will say is required of us as a duty.

To do evil that good may come of it, is contrary to the doctrine of christianity. That when times are so cloudy that we cannot go forward in the way of clear-

ness and purity,—it behoves us, in the depth of humility, to wait on the Lord to know his mind concerning us and our children.

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CHAPTER XV.

*On Masters and Servants.*

“Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters, according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ.” Eph. vi. 5.

It is observable in several places, where the apostle writes to servants, that he labours to direct their minds to the true Light; that in labouring in the condition of servants they might, as the apostle expresseth it, “do the will of God from the heart:” Ephes. vi. 6; that their labours might not be like those of men-pleasers, but “in singleness of heart fearing God;” and that whatsoever they did, they might “do it heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men.” Col. iii. 23.

As the pure principle of righteousness is the foundation whereon the pure in heart stand; so, their proceedings are consistent therewith: and while they encourage to an upright performance of every reasonable duty, on one hand—they guard, on the other, against servants actively complying with unrighteous commands,—“doing service as to the Lord, and not unto men.” ver. 7. By which we are instructed in the necessity of a humble walking before God; that by faithfully attending on the leadings of his holy Spirit, “our senses may be exercised to discern both good and evil.” Heb. v. 14. And that as the righteous commands of masters ought to be obeyed because they are righteous,—so, on the contrary, such commands of men which cannot be performed without disobeying God, are not sufficient authority for a servant of Christ to proceed upon; but herein we ought to obey God rather than men.

The present concern of my mind is, that all who are in the station of masters, may seriously consider this subject, and demand nothing of servants, which is unreasonable, or that in the performance of which they must necessarily act contrary to universal righteousness.

A pious father hath a conscientious care for his children, that by his labours they may be rightly educated, and have some things which necessarily relate to their first settling in the world. But where a man seeth his righteous intentions perverted, and his labours made to serve purposes which are not equitable, and hath no hopes of a remedy,—his case is very grievous: for here, however disposed to labour, he cannot “*labour heartily as to the Lord, and not unto men.*”

To comply with demands that are not equitable, is afflicting to a well disposed mind: and for a man in power to demand service of another, without proposing an equitable reward, appears to me to have the spirit of persecution in it.

Upright men labouring in temporal affairs, have in view to do good thereby. They labour because they are convinced it is their duty. But where labours not equitably due, are required of them to gratify the covetous, luxurious, or ambitious designs of others,—this lays conscientious men under great difficulty. If they comply not, they are liable to punishment; and if they do that which they believe is not right for them to do, they wound their own souls.

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#### CHAPTER XVI.

To keep negroes as servants, till they are thirty years of age, and hold the profits of the last nine years of their labour as our own, on a supposition that they may some time be an expense to our estates, is a way of proceeding which appears to admit of improvement.

Reasons offered. 1st. Men of mature age, who have walked orderly, and made no contract to serve,—that they are entitled to freedom, I expect is generally agreed to; and to make them serve as slaves nine years longer, may be to keep them slaves for term of life. They may die before that age, and be no expense to us; and may leave children, to whom, with reason, they might in their last sickness, desire to give the monies they had earned after they had paid for their own education.

2d. The labour of a healthy, industrious negro man for nine years, I suppose at a moderate computation, may not be less than fifty pounds, proclamation money, besides his diet and clothing. Now if this money be earned, either in the service of the man who educated him, or laid by in yearly proportions, under the care of the said man, and put out at a moderate interest for the negro's use, and to be applied to his future necessities, or to such honest purposes as he by his last will might direct;—this would appear to us a more brotherly way of proceeding, were we in the negro's condition.

3d. Pure goodness tendeth to beget its own likeness: and where men are convinced that the conduct of those who have power over them, is equitable,—it naturally yields encouragement for them to provide against old age. The pure witness being reached, a care is thereby incited that they may not become a burden on the estates of those whom they have found to be honest men, and true friends to them. But where men have laboured without wages nine years longer than is common with other men amongst whom they dwell, and then set free; and at going off, are assured that those who so detained them are largely in their debt, but expect not to receive the debt except they become needy when unable to help themselves—such would naturally be induced to think this treatment unbrotherly;—to think of the reasonableness of their wages being some time paid;—to think that the estate in which they laboured, might reasonably assist

them in old age: and thus be tempted to decline from a wise application to business.

4th. If I see a man want relief, and know he hath money in my hands which must some time be paid, with reasonable use; either to him, or to others by his direction;—there appears, in this case, no temptation to withhold it at the time I see that he needs it. But if selfishness so far prevails in me, that I look upon the money which I have in trust, with a desire to keep it from the true owner; and through the strength of desire, joined with expectation, at length so far consider it a part of my estate, as to apply it in promoting myself or my family in the world, and therewith enter into expenses which a humble follower of Christ might have shunned: Here, by joining with one temptation, there is great danger of falling into more, and of not attending to the wants of the man who has monies in my hands, with that care and diligence which I might have done, had the tempter found no entrance into my mind.

5th. If we righteously account for the monies which we have in security, with a reasonable use thereon, and frugally expend the whole in relieving the man who earned it; and more being wanted, the public refuseth to bear any part of the expense,—if our estates have not been benefited aforetime by the labours of his fathers nor ancestors:—this appears to be a case wherein the righteous suffer for the testimony of a good conscience; and from which, if faithfully attended to, they might in time, I trust, hope for relief.

The negroes have been a suffering people; and we as a civil society are they by whom they have suffered. Now where persons have been injured, as to their outward substance, and died without having recompense, their children appear to have a right to that which was equitably due to, and detained from their fathers.

Having thus far spoken of the negroes as equally entitled to the benefit of their labour with us, I feel it on my mind to mention that debt which is due to



many negroes of the present age. Where men, within certain limits, are so formed into a society, as to become like a large body consisting of many members; here, whatever injuries are done to others not of this society, by members of this society,—if the society in whose power it is, doth not use all reasonable endeavours to execute justice and judgment, nor publicly disown those unrighteous proceedings,—the iniquities of individuals become chargeable on such civil society to which they remain united. And where persons have been injured, as to their outward substance, and died without having recompense, so that their children are kept out of that which was equitably due to their parents;—here such children appear to be justly entitled to receive recompense from that civil society under which their parents suffered.

My heart is affected with sorrow while I write on this subject, on account of the great injuries committed against these gentiles, and against their children born in that captivity which is an unrighteous captivity. Had the active members in civil society, when those injuries were first attempted, united in a firm opposition to those violent proceedings;—had others, in a selfish spirit, attempted the like afterwards, and met with a firm opposition, and been made to do justice to the injured persons, till the prospect of gain by such unrighteous proceedings appeared so doubtful that no further attempts had been made,—how much better it would have been for these American colonies and islands!

When the ancestors of these people were brought from Africa, some I believe bought those poor sufferers with intent to treat them kindly as slaves. They bought them as though those violent men had a right to sell them; but, I believe, without entering deep enough into the consideration of the nature and tendency of such a bargain, and the consequence of such proceedings. Others, I believe, bought them with views of outward ease and profit; and thus those vio-

lent men found people of reputation who purchased their booty, and built on that purchase as a foundation to exercise the authority of masters; and thus encouraged them in this horrible trade, till their proceedings were so far approved by civil society as to consider those men as members, without proceeding to punish them for their crimes. And hence, building on an unrighteous foundation, a veil was gradually drawn over a practice, very grievous and afflicting to great numbers of these gentiles, and most foreign to righteousness: and thus the face of things became so disguised, that under the most lamentable injustice, but few appeared to be alarmed at it, or zealously laboured to have justice done to the sufferers and their posterity.

The poor Africans were people of a strange language, and not easy to converse with; and their situation as slaves, too generally destroyed that brotherly freedom which frequently subsists between us and inoffensive strangers.

In this adverse condition, how reasonable is it to suppose, that they would revolve in their distressed minds, the iniquities committed against them, and mourn without any to comfort them!

Though through gradual proceedings in unrighteousness, dimness hath come over many minds, yet the nature of things is not altered. Long oppression hath not made oppression consistent with brotherly love; nor length of time through several ages, made recompense to the posterity of those injured strangers. Many of them lived, and died without having their suffering cases heard, and determined according to equity. And under a degree of sorrow on account of the wantonness, the vanity and superfluity too common amongst us as a civil society, even while a heavy load of unrighteous proceedings lies upon us, do I now express these things, under a feeling of universal love, and with a fervent concern for the real interest of my fellow-members in society, as well as the interest of my fellow-creatures in general.

Suppose an inoffensive youth, forty years ago, was violently taken from Guinea, sold here as a slave, and laboured hard till old age, and hath children who are now living. Though no sum may properly be mentioned as an equal reward for the total deprivation of liberty;—yet, if the sufferings of this man be computed at no more than fifty pounds, I expect candid men will suppose it within bounds, and that his children have an equitable right to it.

Fifty pounds, at three per cent, adding the interest to the principle once in ten years, appears in forty years to make upwards of one hundred and forty pounds.

Now, when our minds are thoroughly divested of all prejudice in relation to the difference of colour,—and the love of Christ, in which there is no partiality, prevails in us, I believe it will appear that a heavy account lies against us, as a civil society, for oppressions committed against people who did not injure us; and that, if the particular cases of many individuals were fairly stated, it would appear that there was considerable due to them.

I conclude with the words of Samuel, that righteous judge in Israel: “Behold here I am: witness against me before the Lord, and before his anointed;—whose ox have I taken? or whose ass have I taken? or whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppressed? or of whose hand have I received any bribe, to blind mine eyes therewith; and I will restore it you.” 1 Samuel xii. 3.

JOHN WOOLMAN.

9th of 10th month, 1769.

CONVERSATIONS  
ON  
THE TRUE HARMONY OF MANKIND,  
AND HOW IT MAY BE PROMOTED.

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INTRODUCTION.

I have, at sundry times, felt my mind opened, in true brotherly love, to converse freely and largely with some who were entrusted with plentiful estates, in regard to an application of the profits of them, consistent with pure wisdom. And of late, it hath often revived on my mind, as a duty, to write the substance of what then passed: and as I have attended to this concern, I have felt my mind opened to enlarge on some points then spoken to.

JOHN WOOLMAN.

3d month, 1772.

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*The substance of some conversation between a labouring man, and a man rich in money.*

*Labourer.*—I observe thou livest easy, as to bodily labour, and perceive thou takest interest at seven per cent. I find occasion, among us labouring men, in supporting our families, to work harder at times than is agreeable to us. I am now thinking of that Christian exhortation, “Love as brethren,” and propose to thee, my neighbour, whether a way may not be opened for thee and thy family, to live comfortably on a lower interest; which, if once rightly attained, would, I believe, work in favour of us labouring people.

*Rich Man.*—If thou payest no interest, wherein doth seven per cent. affect thee?

*Lab.*—I was at work for a husbandman who had bought a plantation, and paid interest for a great part of the purchase money. As this neighbour and I were talking of the quantity of grain, equitable pay for a day's work, he told me that so much of the produce of his ground went yearly to pay the interest of the remaining purchase money, that he thought he could not afford so much rye for a day's work now, as was considered pay for a day's work twenty years ago.

*Rich.*—Twenty years ago, interest was as high as it is now; and grain, flesh, butter, and cheese, were then cheaper.

*Lab.*—Seven per cent. is higher than interest is in England, and than it is in most of the neighbouring provinces. This is known to many who pay interest, who look at wealthy interest-receivers, as men having got an advantage of their brethren; and as provisions are more and more in demand, partly by an enlargement of towns and villages, and partly by a sea-trade, some take hold of opportunities to raise the price of grain, flesh, butter, and the like; and apprehend that herein they are only labouring to bring the price of their produce toward a balance with seven per cent.

On a rise of grain, of flesh, and the like, I have known tradesmen meet, and raise the price of their work. Thus, a poor labouring man who works by the day for the necessaries of life, must not only work more for a bushel of grain, but also for weaving of his cloth, for making of his coat, and for the shoes which he wears.

There also ariseth discouragement hereby to tradesmen, in our country in general; for tradesmen raising their wages on a rise of grain, the price of cloth, of shoes, of hats, of scythes, and the like are all raised.

Now, if interest was lower, grain lower, and kept more plentiful in our country, wages of hired men might with reason be lower also. Hence, encouragement would naturally arise to husbandmen, to raise

more sheep and flax, and prepare means to employ many poor people amongst us.

Sheep are pleasant company on a plantation, their looks are modest, their voice is soft and agreeable; their defenceless state exposeth them a prey to wild beasts, and they appear to be intended by the great Creator to live under our protection, and supply us with matter for warm and useful clothing. Sheep, being rightly managed, tend to enrich our land; but by sending abroad great quantities of grain and flour, the fatness of our land is diminished.

I have known landholders who paid interest for large sums of money; and, being intent on paying their debts by raising grain, have, by too much tilling, so robbed the earth of its natural fatness, that the produce thereof hath grown light.

To till poor land requires nearly as much labour as to till that which is rich; and as the high interest of money which lieth on many husbandmen, is often a means of their struggling for present profit, to the impoverishment of their lands, they then on their poor land find greater difficulty to afford poor labourers who work for them, equitable pay for tilling the ground.

The produce of the earth is a gift from our gracious Creator to the inhabitants, and to impoverish the earth now, to support outward greatness, appears to be an injury to the succeeding age.

*Rich.*—As there hath, for some years past, been a gradual rise of our country produce, and we have not raised our interest, if there be any complaint now, it seems as if we are the men to complain.

*Lab.*—My friend and neighbour, people, thou knowest, sometimes disagree in attempting to settle accounts (when no fraud is intended on either side,) but through want of matters being clearly and fairly stated. Come now, let us patiently hear each other, and endeavour to love as brethren.

Some who pay rent for a small house, and raise up children, all by day's labour, are often taught by very moving instructions. Some keep a cow, and labour

hard in the summer to provide hay and grain for her against winter; but in very cold winters, hay is sometimes gone before spring, and grain is so scarce, thro' much sending it and flour abroad, that the grain intended for a cow, is found necessary to be eaten in the family. I have known grain and hay so scarce, that I could not, any where near, get so much as my family and creatures had need of; being then sparing in feeding our cow, she hath grown poor. In her pining condition, she hath called aloud. I knew her voice, and the sound thereof was the cry of hunger. I have known snowy, stormy weather, of long continuance. I have seen poor creatures in distress, for want of good shelter and plentiful feeding, when it did not appear to be in the power of their owners to do much better for them; being straitened in answering the demands of the wealthy. I have seen small fires in long cold storms, and known sufferings for want of firewood. In wasting away under want, nature hath a voice that is very piercing. To these things I have been a witness, and had a feeling sense of them; nor may I easily forget what I have thus learned.

Now, my friend, I have beheld that fulness and delicacy, in which thou and thy family live. Those expensive articles, brought from beyond the sea, which serve chiefly to please the desire of the eye, and to gratify the palate, which I often observe in thy family as in other rich families:—these costly things are often revived in my remembrance, when those piercing instructions, arising from hunger, cold, and want, have been before me.

Our merchants, in paying for these delicacies, send a great deal of flour and grain abroad out of our country. Hence, grain is more scarce and dear, which operates against poor labouring people.

I have seen, in thy family, that in furnishing the house, in dressing and adorning yourselves, and in preparations for the table, you might save a good deal, if your minds were reconciled to that simplicity men-

tioned by the Apostle, to wit, “the *simplicity that there is in Christ.*” And by thus saving, you might help poor people in several ways. You might abate of your interest money, and that might operate in favour of the poor. Your example, in a plain life, might encourage other rich families in this simple way of living; and thus the wealthy, by abating their expenses, might more easily abate the rents of their lands; and their tenants, having farms on moderate terms, would have less plea for shortening the wages of the poor, by raising the price of grain, than they now have.

I have felt hardships amongst poor people, and had experience of their difficulties; now, my friend, were our stations in the world to be changed;—were thou and thy children to labour a few years with your hands, under all the wants and difficulties of the poor, toward supporting us and our families in that expensive way of life in which thou and thy family now live;—thou wouldst see that we might have a sufficiency with much less; and on abating our demands, might make thy labour, and the labour of thy children much easier; and doubtless in my case, to thee such abatement would be desirable.

I have read of a heathen king or emperor, so affected with that great law of equity, laid down by our Redeemer, that he caused it to be fixed up on the wall of his palace: “WHATSOEVER YE WOULD THAT OTHER MEN SHOULD DO TO YOU, DO YE EVEN SO TO THEM.” In this law, our Redeemer refers us to our own feeling; and as all men, by nature, are equally entitled to the equity of this law, and under the obligations of it, there appears, on the point of tenderness to the poor, improvement necessary for thee, my friend.

*Rich.*—If I were to abate all those expenses thou hintest at, I believe some poor people, as hardly beset to live in the world as those thou speakest of, would lose some business, and be more straitened to live than they are at present.



*Lab.*—I know of no employ in life, more innocent in its nature, more healthy, and more acceptable in common to the minds of honest men, than husbandry, followed no further than while action is agreeable to the body; but husbandry, by reason of the smallness of the number employed in it, is often made a toil, and the sweetness thereof frequently changed into hurry and weariness, in doing no more than employers commonly expect from a man, as the labour of a day.

*Rich.*—I have seen men perform a full day's labour, even in hot weather, and at night appear cheerful, and no signs of weariness on them.

*Lab.*—That may often be observed in strong hearty men; but sometimes the necessities of poor labouring men induce them to labour when they are weakly; and among poor men, as amongst others, some are weak by nature, and not of constitutions prepared to go through great labour; and these, in doing what is esteemed a day's work in the summer, are frequently very weary before night, even when in health; and when weakly, they sometimes struggle with labour to a great degree of oppression.

Labouring to raise the necessaries of life, is in itself an honest labour; and the more men there are employed in honest employments, the better. Many of the employments thou hast alluded to, have been invented to gratify the wandering desires of those who, through means of riches, had power to turn money into the channels of vanity. Those employments are often distressing to the minds of sincere-hearted people, who, from their childhood, have been brought up in them, with intention that thereby they might get a living in the world. With these I have a brotherly sympathy, and not only desire that their faith fail not, but feel a care that such who have plenty of the things of this life, may lay their condition to heart.

I feel that it is my duty to love my heavenly Father with all my heart, and with all my soul and strength. I feel that pride is opposite to Divine love;

and if I put forth my strength in any employment, which I know is to support pride, I feel that it has a tendency to weaken those bands which, thro' the infinite mercies of God, I have felt at times to bind and unite my soul in a holy fellowship with the Father, and with his Son, Jesus Christ. This I have learned through the precious operation of Divine love, and ardently desire both for myself, and for all who have tasted of it, that nothing may be able to separate us from it.

When rich men who have the power of circulating money through channels the most pleasant to them, do not stand upright as in the sight of God, but go forth in a way contrary to pure wisdom, it tends to disorder the affairs of society. And where they gather money through the toil of husbandmen, and circulate it by trading in superfluities, and employing people in vanities, the similitude used by the prophet Ezekiel appears applicable. He represents rich men as strong cattle who feed on the fat pasture, and then wantonly tread down the remainder; and as drinking at a pleasant stream, and then walking in it till their feet have so stirred up the mud, that the thirsty weak cattle have nothing to drink but dirty water. This parable of the prophet appears to represent, not only the bodily hardships, in outward poverty and want, of such poor people who are pressed down by the power of the wealthy, but may properly be applied to those employments about vanities, in which many poor people are entangled.

Now, if rich men, by living in the simplicity of the Truth, stop the business of some who labour in gratifying the pride and vanities of people's minds, and are drinking the dirty waters; if those at the same time abate their interest, and the rent of their lands, this opens a way for the tenant to be more liberal with the fruits of the ground, when put in the balance against the work of poor labouring men.

An honest tenant who labours himself and knows what it is to be weary, on agreeing to pay five men

full wages for doing that which is now computed a day's work for four, might ease the heavy burdens of weakly labourers, and open the way for some now employed in gratifying the vanities of people's minds, to enter upon useful employments.

Men who live on a supply from the interest of their money, and do little else but manage it, appear to have but a small share of the labour in carrying on the affairs of a province; and where a member of society doth but a small share of the business thereof, it appears most agreeable to equity, that he should live in such sort, as may be most easy to them by whose labour he is chiefly supported.



*The substance of some conversation between a thrifty Landholder, and a labouring man.*

*Labourer.*—I observe, of late years, that when I buy a bushel of grain for my family, I must do more work to pay for it, than I used to do twenty years past,—what is the reason of this change?

*Landholder.*—Towns and villages have a gradual increase in these provinces, and the people now employed in husbandry bear, I believe, a less proportion to the whole inhabitants than they did then; this, I take to be one reason of the change; but the main cause is that of sending so much grain and flour abroad.

*Lab.*—I believe it is so; but I observe that where land is well cleared, and enriched by cattle and sheep, a hundred bushels of rye are raised with less labour now, than was necessary when the ground was to clear, and the ploughing interrupted by many stumps; and as we have great plenty of grain raised in our country, it seems uneasy to me, that I must now do more work for a bushel of rye than I did then.

*Land.*—The price set on labour is high; but as we have now less labour in clearing land, than we had then;—and as young men, who have no land of their

own, are more numerous,—it appears likely that we may have our labour done for lower wages than we had then. And as our country is now more open, and great quantities of grain are now raised, we are enabled to supply some people beyond the seas with grain and flour, for which in return we get many things convenient from abroad.

*Lab.*—Of things which to me appear convenient, we, through Divine favour, have plenty in our own land, and in so much sending abroad, and fetching from far, there is a hazard of men's lives, and the good fruits of the earth brought forth through much labour, are often buried in the sea. If our people who are beforehand in the world, would be content with living more on the produce of our own land, and instead of employing so many men on the seas, would employ the greater part of them in husbandry and useful trades, and keep grain more plentifully in our country, I believe it would be better for us, in general, and we labouring people might have grain in proportion to our labour, as heretofore; and in the plentiful produce of our country, rejoice with the landholders. But while the landholders have great increase, and therewith gratify themselves and their families with expensive delicacies, and at the same time demand more labour of us for a bushel of grain, than they did when much less grain was sent abroad; this falls hard on our side. And though a poor labouring man may behold the country in outward prosperity, yet feeling the prosperity thereof to be of such a nature, that in getting bread for his family, he must do more work for a bushel of grain than was required of him in years past, it doth not appear that he hath a proportionable share in this prosperity.

*Land.*—There are many people in distant parts, who depend on a supply by our grain and flour.

*Lab.*—I believe some trade abroad might be of advantage to us, and to some with whom we trade, if that spirit which leads into error, had no part in directing this trade.

A great stop in trade may not be expected without inconvenience to some; but as the spirit of Truth prevails in our minds, we are content with that only which is of real use to us. Thus the love of riches is cast out of our hearts; the desire after costly delicacies is subjected in us, and in true brotherly kindness, we are moved to assist the weak members in the family, under their difficulties.

Our flour is often sent abroad to fruitful places; and were the inhabitants of some of those places to apply themselves more to that of raising a living for themselves, out of their own ground, and trade less abroad, I believe both we and they, under the Divine blessing, might have a sufficient supply:—less of the produce of the earth would be sunk in the seas, less expense in carrying abroad and fetching from far;—and labour would be made more easy to the tillers of the ground, both here and there.

*Land.*—We commonly raise more grain in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, in a year, than is a supply for our inhabitants, and by sending abroad that of which we have no present occasion, we not only get a supply of sundry branches of merchandize from abroad, but also get gold amongst us.

*Lab.*—In rightly labouring for the true prosperity of a country, we do nothing at which any one of our inhabitants have just cause to complain; but in putting forward trade beyond the right bounds, grain is made scarce and dear, even in a time of plenty; a poor labouring man must spend more of his strength to get a bushel of rye, than was required of him when less was sent abroad. Thus, husbandry, one of the most healthful, honest employments, so agreeable and inviting to us, is made a toil, and becomes wearisome, by reason that too few are employed in it, and too much labour assigned as the work of a day.

Many branches of business are invented to please the pride and vanity of such who wander from pure wisdom; which branches of business are often uneasy to sincere-hearted tradesmen; but husbandry is an

employment in itself so necessary, and carried on in the open air, that it appears consistent with pure wisdom to have as many employed in it as the nature of the case will rightly admit of, and that those should not be obliged to work harder for a comfortable living than may be an agreeable employ.

Grain of late years is raised, not only in greater plenty than it was formerly, but also with less labour; and that poor labouring men and tradesmen should be under the necessity to spend more of their strength for a bushel of it, than was required of them in years past, is a case that to me doth not appear harmonious in society.

If gold is brought into our country through means which renders the condition of the poor more difficult, it appears evident that the country had better be without that gold.

I believe the real use of gold amongst men, bears a small proportion to the labour in getting it out of the earth, and carrying it about from place to place.

It doth not appear to have much use but that of a currency, and if trade extended no further than was consistent with pure wisdom, I believe trade might be carried on without gold.

To make an axe or a hoe, iron and steel is worth more to the husbandman than gold of an equal weight.

If a man, with much gold, should travel into those parts of the world, where people are all strangers to that high value which is placed on it, and there endeavour to buy the conveniences of life therewith;—to propose in exchange so small a piece of metal for so much of the necessaries of life, would doubtless to them be matter of astonishment.

Gold, where the value fixed thereon is agreed to, appears to be attended with a certain degree of power; and where men get much of this power, their hearts are many times in danger of being lifted up above their brethren, and of being estranged from that meekness and tender feeling of the state of the

poor, which accompanies the faithful followers of Christ.

Our blessed Redeemer, who is always able to supply our wants, even by miracles when that is consistent with infinite wisdom; he, our gracious Shepherd, who well knows our weakness, and the danger there is of our hearts being corrupted by that power which attends riches, commands us, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures here on earth:" and one of his immediate followers, warning us of the woful state of such who continue in the breach of this command, said, "They who will be rich fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition."

Through the desire of money, men are tempted at times to deal hardly with their poor neighbours; and in the possession of riches there is a snare.

Through this imaginary greatness, the heart is often ensnared with pride; and through plenty of gold, the way is more open to gratify the vanity of the desire in delicacies and luxury; and under these gratifications, there is often a growing exaltation of mind, an imaginary superiority over such who have a small portion of the things of this life; and thus many become estranged from the tender feelings of true brotherly love and charity.

In a time of plenty, when great quantities of grain and flour are sent to distant parts, a poor man who labours for hire to get bread for his family, must do more labour for a bushel of grain, than was required for that quantity, thirty years past; which circumstance appears worthy the consideration of such who possess fruitful plantations, or are otherwise entrusted with power, and may justly incite them to beware lest the love of money ensnare their hearts, and lead them on to promote trading beyond the right bounds.

They who hold plentiful estates, have power over those who have only their hands to labour; and if they misapply this power, the joints and bands of so-

ciety are disordered. Poor labouring men, in raising up families, find occasion to labour too hard, while other poor men would be idle for want of employ, were not employments provided which serve chiefly to gratify the pride and vanity of people's minds.

Where people love money, and their hearts are ensnared with imaginary greatness, the disease frequently spreads from one to another; and children, indulged in those wants which proceed from this spirit, have often wants of the same kind, in a much larger degree, when they grow up to be men and women; and their parents are often entangled in contriving means to supply them with estates to live answerable to those expensive customs, which, very early in life, have taken hold of their minds.

In contriving to raise estates on these motives, how often are the minds of parents bewildered, perplexed, and drawn into ways and means to get money, which increase the difficulties of poor people who maintain their families by the labour of their hands!

A man may intend to lay up wealth for his children, but may not intend to oppress; yet, in this fixed intention to increase his estate, the working of his designs may cause "the bread of the needy to fail;" and at the same time their hardships may remain unnoticed by him.

This, the inspired penman describes in the similitude of a man *falling*. Now, a man falling may go headlong where he had no design to go. Having a *will* to be *rich*, he may *fall*;—he may fall into the condition of oppressors, though he had no design to oppress. Thus, it remains that the love of money is a root from whence spring many evils; and they who will be rich fall;—they fall into temptations and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful customs, which strongly operate against the true harmony of society.

This, of making grain scarce in a plentiful country, for the sake of getting a little fine metal as a currency amongst us, which doth not appear to be worth its



weight in steel for instruments relating to the common business of getting a living in the world, appears to me to work against the general convenience of poor labouring people, and is often a snare to others, respecting the inward state of their minds.

The members in society to me appear like the members of a man's body, which only move regularly while the motion proceeds from the head. In fits, people sometimes have convulsive motions, which, though strong, are only manifestations of disorder.

While we love God with all our hearts, and love not ourselves in a love different from that which we feel towards mankind universally, so long the way remains open for that "*Life* which is the *Light* of men," to operate in us, and lead us forward in all the concerns necessary for us. Here we may rejoice in the testimony of our conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, we have had our conversation amongst men.

This is a treasure, of which, through the tender mercies of God, I have in a small degree had experience; and when I think on this outward body being dissolved, and look toward ages who may succeed us, this treasure, of all others, feels the most precious, and what I ardently desire may be possessed by generations to come.

If gold comes not rightly into our country, we had better be without it. The love of money is the root of evil; and while gold comes among us as an effect of the love of money in the hearts of the inhabitants of this land, branches rising up from this root, like the "degenerate plant of a strange vine," will remain to trouble us, and interrupt the true harmony of society.

The love of Christ, which preserves the faithful in purity of heart, puts men into a motion which works harmoniously, and in which their example yields clear and safe instruction: thus our Redeemer said, "Ye are the light of the world."

This is the standard which God hath commanded to be lifted to the people; and the possibility of this standard being now lifted up by us, standeth in that of a lowly watchful attention to the leadings of Him who is the "light of life;" and if we go from this standard, we go into a wilderness of confusion.

While we keep to this standard, we are content with a little; but in the love of money and outward greatness, the wants of one person may require as much labour to supply them, as would supply ten whose wants extend no further than those things which our "heavenly Father knoweth that we have need of." And where people are entangled with that spirit in which men "receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour which cometh from God only;" in this state, expense ariseth frequently on expense, and in the increase of outward substance they often find occasion for a greater increase. Thus, a man on some new acquaintance with one whose living in the world is more specious than his own, may feel an inclination to rise up as high as to a level with him; and in order to attain this, he may frame new devices to increase his estate, and these devices may cause "the bread of the needy to fail," though his intent was only to get riches to himself.

Now, as men have a *will to be rich*; and in that will, follow on in the pursuit of devices which work against the convenient living of poor honest people, in this course they decrease as to that of being kind and tender-hearted, in seeking after the wants of the weak and helpless: and in that spirit in which men receive honour one from another, their minds are towards outward power to support themselves in that which they possess.

With gold, men often hire armies, and make great preparations for war. Now in raising great armies, and supporting them, much labour becomes necessary, which otherwise would not be needful; and in the long continuation of these things, the yoke lies heavy on many poor people.

The battles of the warrior are not only "with confused noise, and garments rolled in blood," but commonly contrived in the craft and subtilty of man's wisdom; and if we "trust in man, make flesh our arm," and are estranged from that purified state in which the mind relieth on God, we are in the way towards an increase of confusion; and this state, even among much gold and great riches, is less settled and quiet, than that of a faithful follower of the lowly Jesus, who is content with "those things which our heavenly Father knoweth that we have need of."

In this state we are dead, and our "life is hid with Christ in God;"—dead to the love of money;—dead to worldly honour, and to that friendship which is at enmity with God; and thus He is felt to be our rock and our safe habitation.

In the love of money and outward greatness, the mind is perplexed with selfish devices how to keep,—how to defend from the crafty designs of the proud and envious; and from the desperate attempts of the oppressed.

Now, in the bottom of these devices, there is unquietness. For where gold or treasures are gathered, and not in that wisdom which is pure and peaceable, the mind in this state is left naked. The robe of God's righteousness is a covering, which, to them who are sanctified in Christ Jesus, is an abundant recompense for the loss of that life, with all its treasures, which stood in the wisdom of this world. Under this robe, we feel that all things work together for our good; that we have no cause to promote, but the cause of pure universal love;—and here all our cares centre in a humble trust in Him who is omnipotent.

EXTRACTS,  
AND  
REMARKS ON THE SLAVE TRADE,  
AND ON SLAVERY.

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*Extracts from a surgeon's manuscript Journal, who went on board a vessel from Liverpool to the coast of Guinea.*

"Sestro, December 29th, 1724. No trade to-day; though many traders came on board. They inform us that the people are gone to war within land, and will bring prisoners enough in two or three days: in hopes of which, we stay."

"30th. No trade yet; but our traders came on board and informed us, that the people had burnt four towns of their enemies: so that to-morrow we expect slaves. Yesterday came in a large Londoner."

"31st. Fair weather; but no trade yet. We see each night, towns burning: but we hear the Sestro men are, many of them, killed by the inland negroes; so that we fear this war will be unsuccessful."

"Jan. 2nd. Last night, we saw a prodigious fire break out; and this morning we see the town of Sestro burnt down to the ground. It contained some hundred houses: so that we find their enemies are too hard for them at present, and our trade spoiled here. We therefore weighed anchor, as did likewise the other vessels, in order to proceed further down."

*Extracts from a surgeon's manuscript Journal, who went from New York to the coast of Guinea, about the year 1746.*

"Being on the coast of Basalia, the commander of the vessel, according to custom, sent a present to the king; letting him know they wanted a cargo of slaves. The king promised to furnish them with slaves, and

set out to war with his enemies; designing also to surprise some town, and take all the people prisoners. Some time after, the king sent them word that he had not yet met with the desired success, having been twice repulsed in attempting to break up two towns; but still hoped to procure a number of slaves for them: and, at length, met his enemies in the field, where a battle was fought which lasted three days: during which time, four thousand five hundred men were slain. The person who wrote the account, saw the dead bodies as they lay in the field. "Think," says he, "what a piteous sight it was, to see widows weeping over their lost husbands, orphans deploring the loss of their fathers," &c.

In these instances, we may behold how, from a desire of gain, the white people stir up the negroes to push forward most cruel and lamentable wars. Their vessels frequently take five or six hundred slaves at one freight: and how moving is the subject, if attended to with a compassionate heart!

If we consider them as violently separated from their homes, and from all their most intimate acquaintances, their case appears sorrowful: but to be made slaves to a people whose conduct amongst them appears cruel, must necessarily fill their minds with apprehensions of future distress.

But further,—even free passengers would meet with difficulty on a long voyage, were their numbers equal to a freight of slaves: but how much greater is the difficulty of these poor sufferers! For, this being a scene of violence, the whites, in providing against the negroes' rising, tie the men to posts in the hold; where they are very poorly accommodated, as to bodily nourishment.

People not used to the sea, are often so sick in rough weather, that the operation is frequently as strong as physic; which, amongst a freight of slaves, slightly attended, is likely to make their confinement more grievous.

Through distress of mind,—through the breathing of so many in a close place, and the want of necessary accommodations to keep the place sweet and clean, mortal distempers frequently break out amongst them.

In sickness, we have need of help from sympathizing friends: but how calamitous is the case of these people when sickness thus breaks out amongst them!

So grievous are these long voyages to the poor crowded sufferers, that it is computed no less than ten thousand die every year on their passage!

Those who survive these hardships, and are placed under the command of overseers in the American plantations, the work assigned them is so painful,—the diet so unequal to the labour, and chastisement so severe, that it is computed near twenty thousand die every year in what is called “the seasoning.”

If we sit by a friend in his last sickness, and behold his hard labour under the pains of death, it frequently moves to sympathy. But if thirty thousand are brought every year to an untimely end, it is not less than eighty persons to each day: and should it be our lot to behold that number in their last agonies in one day, how gloomy would that day appear to us! Yet, if they came to their end without violence, or hard treatment, and without any provocation to hatred and malice, their deaths would be less affecting.

But if we consider them dying in such numbers, day after day, for many years! and that this most affecting scene is now acting! and that these poor creatures, under the pains of death, are also under the strongest temptations to wrath,—and that their end comes through insupportable oppression,—what heart can refrain from sorrow at so lamentable a breach in the harmony of mankind!

He that created us, created them; and they also are his offspring. And as his gracious regard is toward his creatures, he is begetting in many a tender feeling for the griefs and distresses of their brethren and sisters, whose dying groans ascend to him!—And I may say, that in sundry afflictions which I have met with,

my mind from time to time hath been brought into a tender sympathy with these oppressed people. And though it be natural to us to be much more affected with an injury committed against ourselves, or our children, than we are in beholding the like injury committed against strangers, though unoffending and helpless;—yet, through the tender mercies of my heavenly Father, I have learned this; that the more we are redeemed from selfishness, and brought into that love in which there is no respect of persons, the more we are prepared to desire and to labour for universal harmony amongst our fellow-creatures.

In regard to those who survive the seasoning; in an Account of the European settlements in America, printed in London, 1757, the author saith,—“The negroes in our colonies endure a slavery more complete, and attended with far worse circumstances, than what any people in their condition suffer in any other part of the world, or have suffered in any other period of time. Proofs of this are not wanting. The prodigious waste which we experience in this unhappy part of our species, is a full and melancholy evidence of this truth. The island of Barbadoes, the negroes on which do not amount to eighty thousand, notwithstanding all the means which they use to increase them by propagation, and that the climate is in every respect (except that of being more wholesome) resembling the climate from which they came;—notwithstanding all this, Barbadoes lies under a necessity of a yearly recruit of five thousand, to keep up the stock, at the number I have mentioned.”

“This prodigious failure, which is at least in the same proportion in all our islands, shows demonstratively that some uncommon and insupportable hardship lies upon the negroes, which wears them down in such a surprising manner.”

It may not be unfruitful, I trust, to meditate awhile on this subject.

In passing through the pains of death, without any aggravating circumstances, there is, we see, a conflict that is very painful: but to be worn out with labour, and die with extreme oppression, is a death attended with great misery!

Did we labour in the heat till our weakly natures called for rest,—and received, not only a denial at the time of those calls, but chastisement for being thought dilatory,—with what pain of mind should we reflect on this treatment!

Now, if this were limited to a week, or a month, the hopes of a change for the better, might sustain our drooping spirits; but where there is no prospect but that of continued misery,—the thoughts of increasing calamities render the condition more deplorable.

An inward experience of the sanctifying power of Christ,—of that faith which works by love to the purifying of the heart;—this is felt to be a support under affliction, superior to all other. But, alas! what neglect hath been amongst the professors of christianity, as to hearty sincere labours for the salvation of these people!

Were we wearied already with insupportable labours, pinched as to the necessaries of life, and, being ready to faint under our burdens, were forced by cruel whippings to toil with wearied limbs and dejected spirits, till nature yielded to prevailing weakness:

If, under this weakness, instead of proper care and attendance, we were reproached with insincerity and a feigned sickness; how great, as to the outward, would be our calamity!

If all our friends were not only poor, as to the things of this world, and unable to supply us with that which might be comfortable,—but slaves like ourselves, and liable to distress like ours;—how would our groans ascend to that Almighty and gracious Being, whose tender mercies are over all his works, and who in his own time will be a refuge for the oppressed!



Now, if afflictions like these, lie year after year on great multitudes of our fellow-creatures who have not injured us, and thousands of them pine away and die under hardships insupportable to nature, what heart can meditate on their condition, without feeling some concern for a reformation!

A particular account of the treatment the slaves received in the West Indies, was lately published: which, even by those who seek excuses for the trade, and endeavour to palliate the cruelty, is allowed to be a true, though rather too favourable, representation of the usage they receive; being as follows:

“The iniquity of the slave trade is greatly aggravated by the inhumanity with which the negroes are treated in the plantations; as well with respect to food and clothing, as from the unreasonable labour which is commonly exacted from them. In Barbadoes and some other of the islands, six pints of Indian corn and three herrings, are reckoned a full week’s allowance for a working slave. Their allowance for clothing, in the islands, is seldom more than six yards of ozenbrigs each year: and in the more northern colonies, where the piercing westerly winds are long and sensibly felt, these poor Africans suffer much for want of sufficient clothing; indeed some have none till they are able to pay for it by their labour.”

“The time that the negroes work in the West Indies, is from day-break till noon; then again from two o’clock till dark. During which time they are attended by overseers who severely scourge those who appear dilatory; and before they are suffered to go to their quarters, they have still something to do, as collecting of herbage for the horses, gathering fuel for the boilers, &c.; so that it is often half past twelve, before they can get home, when they have scarce time to grind and boil their Indian corn. Whereby it often happens that they are called again to labour before they can satisfy their hunger: and here no delay or excuse will avail; for if they are not in the field

immediately upon the usual notice, they must expect to feel the overseer's lash."

"In crop-time, which lasts many months, they are obliged by turns to work most of the night in the boiling house. Thus, from a desire of making the greatest gain by the labour of the slaves, they lay heavy burdens on them, and yet feed and clothe them very sparingly; and some scarce feed or clothe them at all: so that the poor creatures are obliged to shift for their living in the best manner they can, which occasions their being often killed on the neighbouring lands, stealing potatoes or other food to satisfy their hunger. And if they take any thing from the plantation they belong to, though under such pressing want, they are corrected severely for taking a little of what they have so hardly laboured for."

The sufferings of the blessed Saviour who was given as a light to lighten the gentiles, and for salvation to the ends of the earth,—hath much attended my mind, in writing on this lamentable subject.

Now, a practice which so powerfully operates against the gracious design of his coming,—a practice so grievous to many, and so contrary to the harmony of the great family of mankind,—a practice so full of misery and untimely deaths, having prevailed, and continuing to prevail in these provinces and islands, loudly calls upon us seriously to lay this matter to heart. And to such who are concerned for a reformation, the call is, that we take heed and beware, lest through the desires of the flesh, we continue so nearly connected in outward interest with the immediate authors of those cruelties, as to strengthen their hands in oppression, and make them more at ease therein, than they would be if their neighbours generally manifested a sorrow equal to the case, and a disapprobation proportionable to such extreme cruelty, attended with the unhappy deaths of so many people, equal objects of the love and mercy of a gracious Creator.

The nature of slave-keeping is like that of an absolute government, where one man (not perfect in wisdom and goodness) gives laws to others;—and the evil consequences of this trade has, of late years, been so evident, that many sober people appear dissatisfied with the practice of slave-keeping;—and yet a considerable number of these have the charge of negroes.

Now, as the lamentable sufferings of these people have, by several persons under a religious exercise of mind, been laid before us of late years, what an admonition doth it carry with it, to be watchful against the snares of a custom so prevalent! That a burden so insupportable having lain on them as a people for several ages past, and continuing at this day to lie on them;—a burden which, if particularly opened, would fill many large volumes with matter; with matter not less horrible than the sufferings of the christians under Nero and other heathen emperors;—while such a burden is resting on them, how necessary that we do not in any way contribute toward the increasing of it!

And when we make a bargain with them about liberty, and have power to make it on our own terms, may we attend to that pure principle of equity which leads to truth and uprightness, and in which our conduct may not only be evidently free from the principles of slave-keeping, but be done in that purity of heart which may be acceptable to Him to whom all men are equally accountable.

Who can reflect on the cruelties exercised toward the poor slaves in many places, without feeling an earnest desire, not only to be clear as to any claim standing on a foundation laid in violence, but that we may be strengthened to endure every degree of self-denial which in the pure Light may be opened to us, as one step toward returning, as a nation, from a revolt so grievous!

Were we, our children and a number of our nearest friends, taken by Mahometans, and carried captives in chains, as many poor people have been:—Were we made to labour so far beyond our strength

and the nourishment given us, that under the weight of oppression, several of our company died before our eyes: suppose those men were so strengthened by custom, that none called them to account for the death of our friends;—and that, month after month, we saw more of our company expire under insupportable hardships, while we were almost overcome:—In this lamentable situation, with what sorrow of heart should we reflect on the darkness of the minds of those who were thus loading us with misery, and bringing innocent blood on themselves!

When we saw that this conduct toward us was not the effect of sudden passion;—arose not from hatred toward our persons;—but understood that those people, aiming at ways of life requiring much labour, had deliberately oppressed, even unto death, many before us:

When we beheld a familiarity, and the appearance of friendship subsisting between our oppressors and men highly esteemed for their piety;—what disagreeable thoughts would arise in us respecting that religion in which such lamentable cruelties were thus encouraged! and how would the sound of the Mahometan religion appear like a sound of confusion and misery! How would our minds, in this case, be turned toward the pure and undefiled religion of Jesus Christ, in which oppression hath no place! How should we look, with longing desires, toward a clear, impartial judgment! and towards a land where the channels of equity were kept open for the benefit of all! And alas! how gloomy would outward greatness, as the element of our oppression, in that day appear to us!

## LETTERS OF JOHN WOOLMAN.

*To his wife.*

Newport, Rhode Island, 14th of 6th month, 1760.

DEAR WIFE,—

I heard not from home after I left you, till two days ago I received thy two letters, which were truly acceptable to me.

I hear by William Lightfoot thou hast been poorly, but at the time of his passing by, was better.—Thy not mentioning it in thy letters, I consider as intended kindness to me, by forbearing to contribute to the increase of my exercise. I feel a tender concern for thee, as knowing thy condition to be attended with difficulty; and find at times a disposition to hasten, for thy sake. But such is the weight of the work I am engaged in, and such the baptisms with which I have been baptized, that I see a necessity for all nature to stand silent. I know not that I ever had a sharper conflict in spirit, or better understood what it was to take up the cross, than of late; the depth of which exercise is known only to the Almighty; and yet my beloved friend, Samuel Eastburn, hath been a true and faithful sympathizer with me. I am humbly thankful to my gracious Father, who has brought my mind in a good degree to be resigned to him.—From him my being is derived: my life, from one minute to another, is sustained by him. All I have are his gifts, and I am endeavouring, though in weakness, to surrender all to him.

My care about thee and my child, is much greater than any other care, as to the things of this life: but my comfort hath all along been, that a greater than I is careful for you; to whose gracious protection I recommend you.

We have been generally pretty well, and have got forward on our journey. There remain about fourteen meetings, besides Nantucket, which we have not been at. Should we be favoured to get through them, we expect to go for Oblong, in York government. My love is to all my dear friends.

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*To the same.*

Dartmouth, 23d of 6th mo. 1760.

DEAR WIFE,—

I received thy two letters at Newport, and how acceptable they were to me, is not easy to express. To-morrow, if the wind be fair and way open, I expect to sail for Nantucket. We have been at five meetings since Yearly Meeting; and I may say by experience, the Lord is good: he is a strong hold in the day of trouble, and helpeth those who humbly trust in him.

People in these parts are generally favoured with health. I have heard very little of the small-pox, since I came off Long Island. I am not so hearty and healthy as I have been sometimes; and yet, through the mercy of the Almighty, I am enabled to pursue our journey without much difficulty on that account.

Every year brings additional experience; and I think I never more clearly saw the reasonableness and fitness of casting all my cares on God, than I have since I left thee. I remember thee and my child often, with much nearness of affection and tenderness, believing you are somewhat lonesome in my absence. The most comfortable thoughts I have on the subject are, That a *good* and gracious God governs the universe,—who makes all things work for good to them that love him: of which number I trust thou art one. I also remember that God is wise; he knows what is for the best. He is good, and willing to make us as happy as we are capable of being. He is strong, and nothing is too hard for him;—that to love him and serve him in sincerity, is the best way for us in this

world. He is high, and inhabits eternity, and dwells also with them that are poor and of a contrite spirit. Trust in him, my dear, and I fear not that thou wilt do well. My love is to all my dear friends about home.

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*To the same.*

8th day of 6th month, 1763, about sunset.

I am now at Bethlehem, a moravian town in Pennsylvania, and middling well,—in company with John Pemberton, William Lightfoot and Benjamin Parvin. John expects to go toward home in the morning; William and Benjamin to go forward to fort Allen, on the frontier; then William expects to return home; and as to Benjamin, his mind, at present, seems so engaged that he shows no inclination to leave me.—I have had some weighty conversation with him, and let him know that I am quite free to go alone, if his way does not appear clear to him. My Indian companions appear friendly; and show, I think, quite as much regard for me as they did at our first meeting in Philadelphia. There is nothing to me appears any ways discouraging more than what thou knew of when I was with thee. I am humbly thankful to the Lord, that my mind is so supported in a trust in *him*, that I go cheerfully on my journey; and at present apprehend that I have nothing in my way to fear, but a spirit of disobedience; which, I trust, through Divine help, I may be delivered from.

That pure LIGHT which enlightens every man coming into the world, to me appears now as lovely as ever; to the guidance of which, I hope thou and I may attend while we live in this world; and then all will be well.

With endeared love to thee and my daughter, and my dear friends and neighbours, I conclude, thy affectionate husband.

*To a friend.*

BELOVED FRIEND,—

Since our last conversation, I have felt an increase of brotherly love, and therein a liberty to hint further to thee how at different times, for years past, things have wrought on my mind, respecting high living.

*First.* In some afflicting seasons abroad, as I have sat in meetings with desires to attend singly on the pure gift, I have felt, that amongst my brethren grievously entangled in expensive customs, the Lord had a work for some to do, by exampling others in the simplicity as it is in Christ. 2 Cor. xi. 3. And as I have seen that a view to live high hath been a stumbling-block,—and that what some appeared to aim at was no higher than many of the foremost rank in our society lived,—there hath been a labour upon me, that in this respect the *way may be cast up, and the stumbling-block taken* out of the way of the people. Isa. lvii. 14. And here the inexpressible love of Christ in denying himself and enduring grief for our sakes, is often before me as an example for us to follow, in denying ourselves of things pleasant to our natural inclination, that we may example others in the pure christian life in our age.

*Second.* In regard to thieves, I have had many serious thoughts; and often have been jealous over myself, lest by withholding from a poor man what our heavenly Father may intend for him through me, I should lay a temptation in his way to steal. And I have often felt a care, that no desire for riches, or outward greatness, may prompt me to get that in my house which may create envy, and increase this difficulty.

*Third.* I have sometimes wrote wills for people, when sick and expecting soon to leave their families, and who had but little to divide amongst their children; and I have so far felt a brotherly sympathy, that their cares have become mine in regard to a com-



fortable living for them: and here, expensive customs have often made the prospect less clear. Expensive customs, on such occasions, have often affected me with sadness.

*Fourth.* The manner of taking possession of the silver mines, south-westward;—the conduct of the conquerors toward the natives;—and the miserable toil of many of our fellow-creatures in those mines,—have often been the subjects of my thoughts. And though I sometimes handle silver and gold as a currency,—my so doing is at times attended with pensiveness, and a care that my ears may not be stopped against further instruction.

I often think on the fruitfulness of the soil where we live,—the care that hath been taken to agree with the former owners, the natives,—and the conveniences this land affords for our use;—and on the numerous oppressions that are in many places;—and I feel a care that all my cravings may be rightly bounded, and that no wandering desires may lead me so to *strengthen the hands of the wicked, as to partake of their sins.* 1 Tim. v. 22.

*Fifth.* In conversing at times with some well-disposed Friends who have been long pressed with poverty, I have thought that some outward help, more than I believed myself a steward to communicate, might be a blessing to them. And at such times, the expenses that might be saved amongst some of my brethren, without any real inconvenience to them, hath often been brought to my mind; nor have I believed myself clear, without speaking at times publicly concerning it.

*Sixth.* My mind is often settled on the immutability of the Divine Being, and the purity of his judgments;—and a prospect of outward distress in this part of the world, hath been open before me,—and I have had to behold the blessedness of a state in which the mind is fully subjected to the Divine Teacher, and the confusion and perplexity of such who profess the Truth, and are not faithful to the leadings of it. Nor

have I ever felt pity move more evidently on my mind, than I have felt it toward children, who, by their education, are led on in unnecessary expenses, and exampled in seeking gain in the wisdom of this world to support themselves therein.

9th of 7th month, 1769.

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*To a friend.*

MY DEAR FRIEND,—

In our meeting of ministers and elders, I have several times felt the movings of Divine love amongst us; and to me there appeared a preparation for profitable labours in the meeting; but the time appointed for public meetings drawing near, a straitness for time hath been felt. And in Yearly Meetings for the preservation of good order in the society, when much business hath lain before us, and weighty matters relating to the testimony of Truth have been under consideration, I have sometimes felt that a care in some to get forward soon, hath prevented so weighty and deliberate a proceeding as by some hath been desired.

Sincere-hearted Friends who are concerned to wait for the counsel of Truth, are often made helps to each other; and when such from distant parts of our extensive Yearly Meeting, have set their houses in order, and are thus gathered in one place, I believe it is the will of our heavenly Father that we, with a single eye to the leadings of his holy Spirit, should quietly wait on him, without hurrying on the business before us.

As my mind hath been on these things, some difficulties have arisen in my way. First, there are, thro' prevailing custom, many expenses attending our entertainment in town, which, if the leadings of Truth were faithfully followed, might be lessened.

Many, under an outward show of a delicate life, are entangled in the worldly spirit, labouring to sup-

port these expensive customs which they at times feel to be a burden.

These expenses arising from a conformity to the spirit of this world, have often lain as a heavy burden on my mind, and especially at the time of our solemn meetings: and a life truly conformable to the simplicity that is in Christ, wherein we may faithfully serve God without distraction, and have no interruption from that which is against the Truth, to me hath been very desirable. And, my dear friend, as the Lord, in infinite mercies, hath called thee and me to labour at times in his vineyard, and hath, I believe, sometimes appointed to us different offices in his work, our opening our experience one to another in the pure feeling of charity, may be profitable.

The great Shepherd of the sheep, I believe, is preparing some to example the people in a plain simple way of living; and I feel a tender care that thou and I may abide in that, wherein our light may shine clear, and nothing pertaining to us have any tendency to strengthen those customs which are distinguishable from the Truth as it is in Jesus.

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#### *A short Account of Peter Harvey.*

PETER HARVEY departed this life in the year 1771. He stood as an elder in society for a considerable time; and as he increased in years, I believe his experience of the sanctifying power of Truth was enlarged.

In the time of his health, a few months before he departed, I had some conversation with him in regard to sundry things in his possession relating to his living, which appeared to be conformable to the spirit of this world. He appeared to take my visit very kind; and though he was not fully settled in his mind as to what he should do with them, yet he told me that he was inwardly united to *a plain way of living*, and to such who in faithfulness walked therein.

I was twice with him in his last sickness; and the first of these times he told me, that in his youthful

years his mind was much on improvement in outward business; and that, being successful, many spoke in praise of his conduct:—and in this prosperity he got sundry sorts of superfluities in workmanship about him. And though he had not seen clearly what to do with them; yet he saw that at the time of getting those things, *he went on in the dark*; and they were *latterly a burden to his mind*.

He appeared in a meek and loving frame of spirit, at both times when I saw him; and told me when I was last with him, that he had felt a living sense of Divine love in his heart many times in this his sickness, and had tasted of that joy which is the everlasting portion of those that are sanctified; and that the thoughts of death were not terrible to him.

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*For John Comfort and wife.*

DEAR CHILDREN,—

I feel a tender care for you at this time of parting from you: and under this care, my mind is turned toward the pure light of Truth, to which if you take diligent heed, I trust you will find inward support under all your trials.

My leaving you under the trying circumstances now attending you, is not without close exercise; and I feel a living concern, that under these cares of business, and under bodily affliction, your minds may be brought to a humble waiting on Him who is the great Preserver of his people. Your loving parent.

28th of 4th month, 1772.

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*To his wife.*

London, 13th of 6th mo. 1772.

DEAR WIFE,—

Through the mercies of the Lord, I arrived safe in London on the 8th of this month. I was mercifully helped to bear the difficulties of the sea; and went straight from the water-side into the Yearly

Meeting of ministers and elders, near half an hour after it was settled in the morning: and the meeting of business was first opened the same day in the afternoon. My heart hath been often melted into contrition since I left thee, under a sense of Divine goodness being extended for my help, and preparing in me a subjection to his will. I have been comforted in the company of some sincere-hearted Friends. The Yearly Meeting of business ended about three hours ago, and I have thoughts of going, in a few days, out of this city towards Yorkshire; taking some meetings in my way, if strengthened thereto.

The tender concern which I have many times felt for thee and for Mary and John, I may not easily express. I have often remembered you with tears; and my desires have been, that the Lord who hath been my helper through many adversities, may be a father to you; and that in his love you may be guided safely along.

Robert Willis, Sarah Morris and companion, William Hunt and companion, and Samuel Emlen, are all here, and middling well. My kind love is to my dear friends.

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*To Reuben and Margaret Haines, Philad.*

31st of 7th mo. 1772.

BELOVED COUSINS,—

I am now at our ancient friend, John Haslam's, whose memory is much impaired by the palsy; but he appears to be in a meek, quiet state;—about one hundred and sixty miles northward of London. My journeying hath been through much inward watchfulness. I cannot see far before me; but the Lord, in tender mercy, hath been gracious to me; and way opens for my visit among Friends.

I send no letters by post here, nor do I want any sent to me by post.

I feel a care that we humbly follow the pure leadings of Truth; and then, I trust, all will work for good. Your loving cousin.

*To the children of Stephen Comfort, of Bucks county, Pennsylvania.*

I am now, this 16th of 9th month, 1772, at Robert Proud's, in Yorkshire, so well as to continue traveling, though but slowly.

Yesterday, as I was walking over a plain on my way to this place, I felt a degree of Divine love attend my mind, and therein an openness toward the children of Stephen Comfort, of which I believed I should endeavour to inform them.

My mind was opened to behold the happiness, the safety, and the beauty of a life devoted to follow the heavenly Shepherd; and a care that the enticements of vain young people may not ensnare any of you.

I cannot form a concern,—but when a concern cometh, I endeavour to be obedient.

Being at York, I wrote the following letter to a beloved friend.

22d day of 9th month, 1772.

BELOVED FRIEND,—

When I followed the trade of a tailor, I had a feeling of that which pleased the proud mind in people; and, growing uneasy, was strengthened to leave off that which was superfluous in my trade.

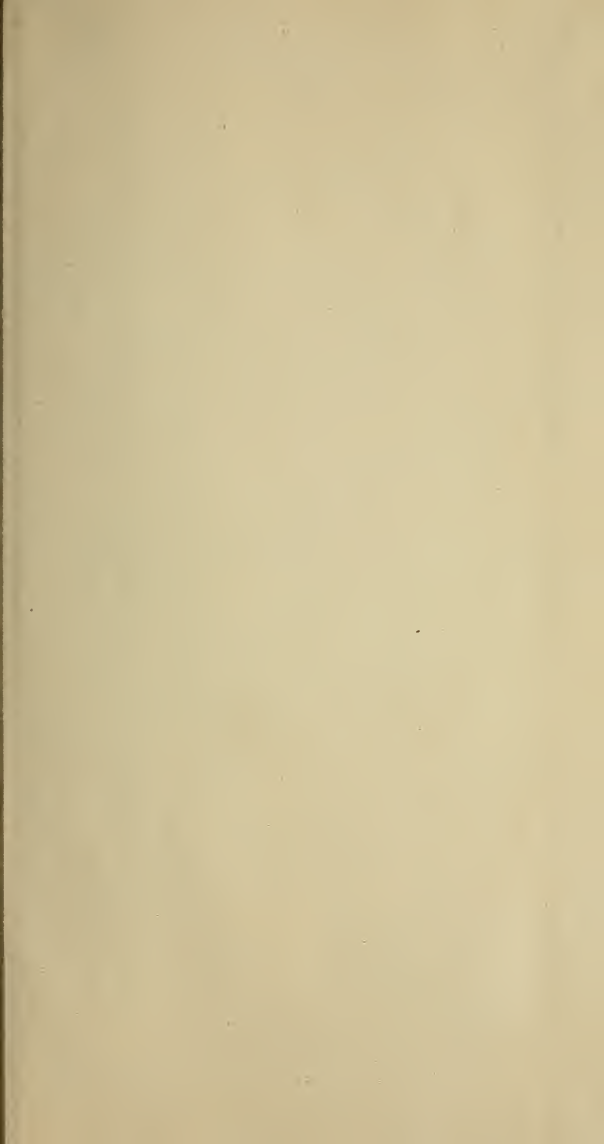
When I was at thy house, I believe I had a sense of the pride of people being gratified in some part of the business thou followest; and I feel a concern, in pure love, to endeavour thus to inform thee of it.

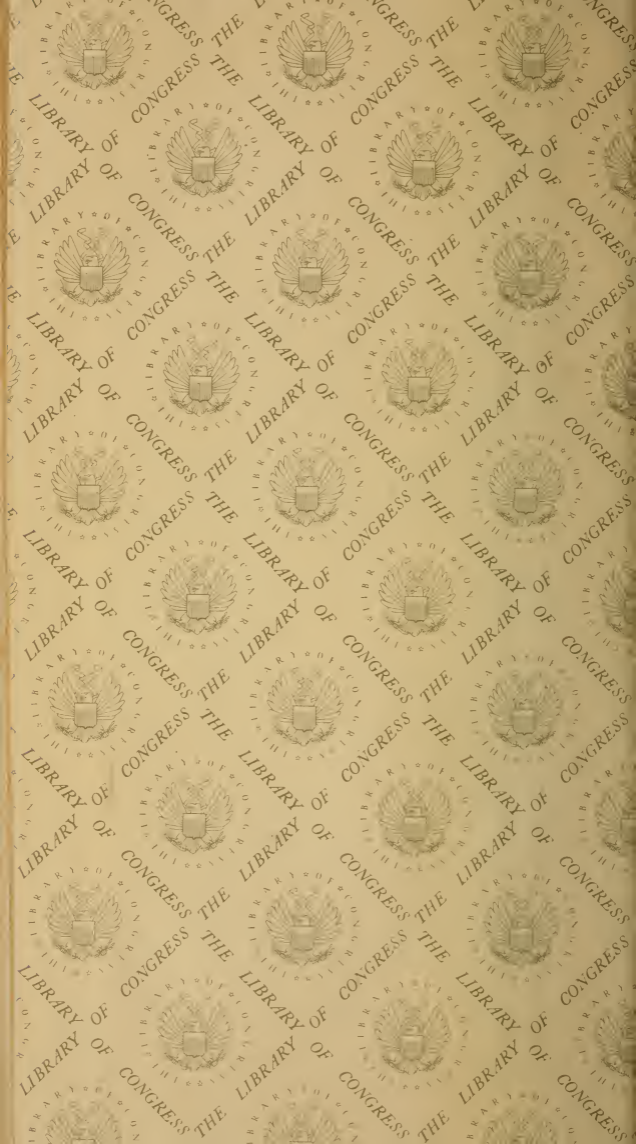
Christ, our leader, is worthy of being followed in his leadings, at all times. The enemy gets many on his side.

Oh! that we may not be divided between the two, but may be wholly on the side of Christ.

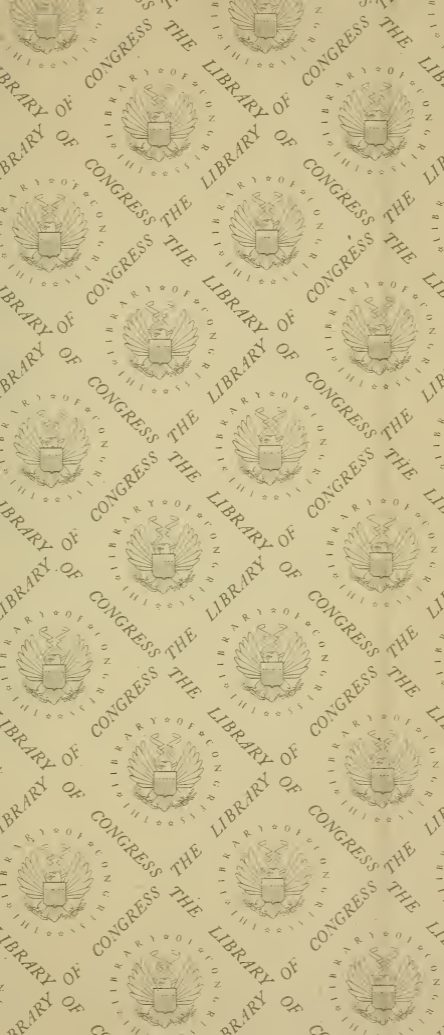
In true love to you all, I remain thy friend.

THE END.









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